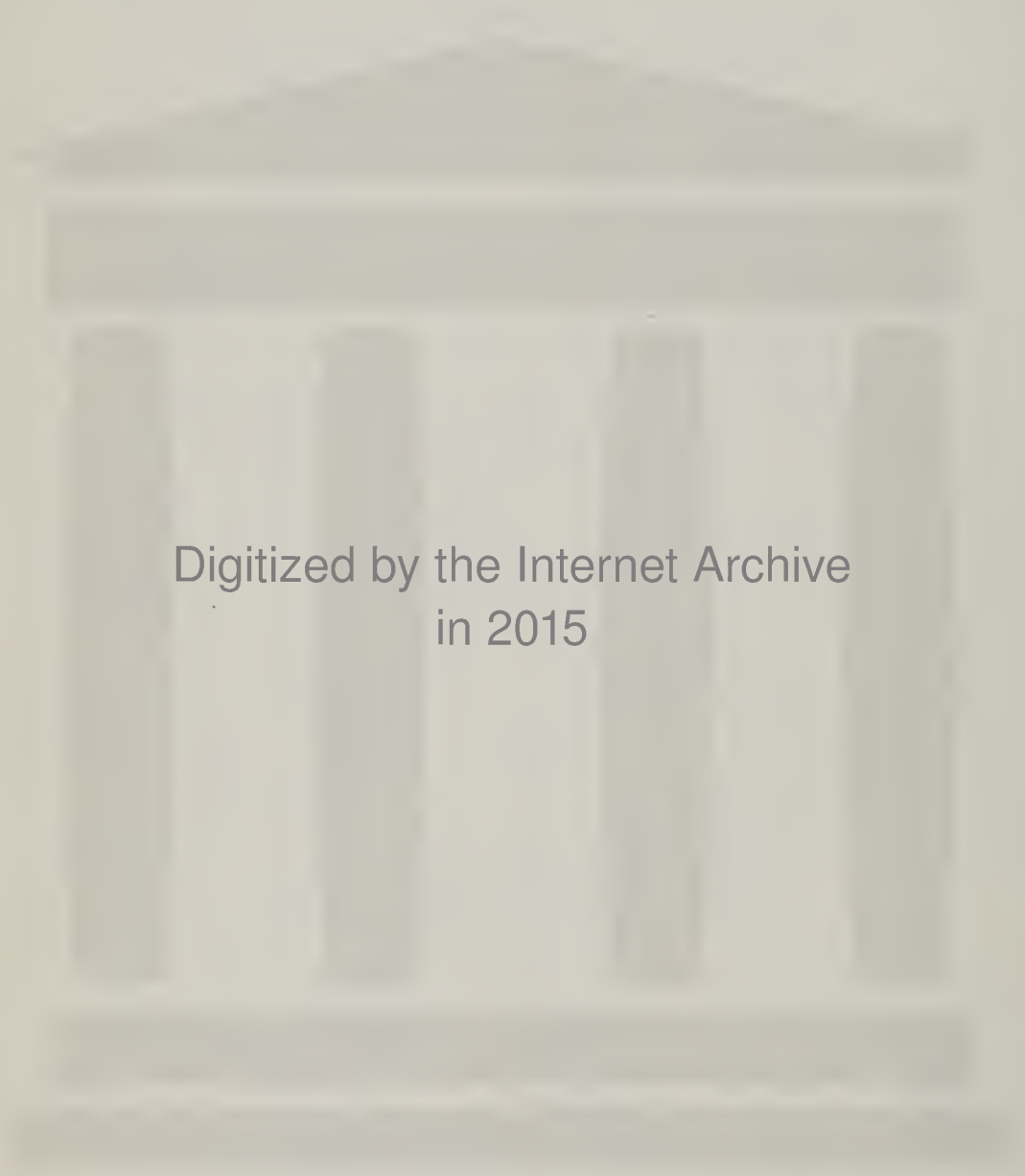
FUSZ MEMORIAL
LIBRARY

272.05
W-86

FOR REFERENCE

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

107 A2


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

https://archive.org/details/woodstockletters8631unse

WOODSTOCK LETTERS

VOL. LXXXVI, No. 3 JULY, 1957

CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1957

THE SODALIST AND THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES 195
David J. Hassel, S.J.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION 240
Edward A. Ryan, S.J.

THE JUAN VALADEZ CASE 257
James D. Loeffler, S.J.

FATHER FRANCISCO J. RELLO 260
Teodoro Llamzon, S.J.

FATHER WILLIAM T. TALLON 267
James M. Somerville, S.J.

FATHER MARTIN J. SCOTT 269
Francis X. Curran, S.J.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO OURS 273

CONTRIBUTORS

Father David J. Hassel (Chicago Province) has just completed his tertianship at Cleveland.

Father Edward A. Ryan (New York Province) is professor of Church History at Woodstock.

Father James D. Loeffler (New England Province) is a curate at Sacred Heart Church, El Paso, Texas.

Father Teodoro Llamson (Philippine Vice Province) is a Fourth Year Father at Woodstock.

Father James M. Somerville (New York Province) is professor of philosophy at Fordham.

Father Francis X. Curran (New York Province) is professor of history at Shrub Oak.

For Jesuit Use Only

Published four times a year, in February, April, July and November.

Entered as second-class matter December 1, 1942, at the post office at Woodstock, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Subscription: Five Dollars Yearly

WOODSTOCK COLLEGE PRESS
WOODSTOCK, MARYLAND

The Sodalist and The Spiritual Exercises

David J. Hassel, S.J.

That the Popes strongly desire the Sodality to draw its Marian piety, its spiritual power, and its apostolic zeal from the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius is evident from their pronouncements on this subject and from their bestowal of numerous indulgences on sodalists making the Exercises. Thus in *Bis Saeculari,* his apostolic constitution concerning the genuine Sodality, Pius XII mentions the Spiritual Exercises first among the means which the Sodality is to use to produce apostles. Again, in a letter to Cardinal Leme of Brazil, he says, "With special joy we noted that the members of this Marian army have frequent spiritual retreats and approach each year to the furnace of the Exercises, in which they forge their spiritual arms."[1]

Jesuit Authorities

The Pope is not alone in this desire to have the Sodality make intensive use of the Spiritual Exercises. There is no mistaking Father General Ledochowski, S.J., when he says:

> I earnestly recommend that, as far as it is possible, the Exercises be given to our sodalists in the form of closed retreats and over a space of not less than three full days. Moreover, this school of deep and solid Ignatian asceticism must not be confined to the time of the Exercises. It must be the constant base of the entire spiritual formation of the Sodality, instilling into it a manifest strength and seriousness.[2]

If there should be any doubt remaining concerning the interconnection of the Sodality and the Spiritual Exercises, Father General Janssens, S.J., would allay it quickly by stating:

> Men clearly enlightened by faith and inflamed with charity will always be few. Yet by the will of the Vicar of Christ it devolves upon our Society to form such men, chiefly by means of the Spiritual

---

[1] Letter to Cardinal Leme of Brazil, *Acta Romana*, Jan. 21, 1942, 10, 306-11.

[2] *Selected Writings of Fr. Ledochowski*, 1945, 807.

> Exercises and the Sodality of Our Lady. For the Sodality, as I have indicated elsewhere, is the fruit of the Exercises, and their most powerful ally.[3]

Consequently Father Paulussen, S.J., president of the central secretariate of the Sodalities of our Lady and Vice-Director of the new World Sodality Federation, is only restating the directives of Popes and Jesuit Generals when he states: "The most encouraging fact of all is that in faithfully following out the norms laid down in *Bis Saecularí* we are returning to the one and only source of all efficacious and powerful renovation, namely to the original inspiration of the Sodalities, the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius."[3bis]

Certainly the leaders of the Sodality movement see clearly the intimate connection of the Exercises and the Sodality as cause and effect. On the theoretical plane there is no quibbling. But historically speaking, has the Sodality actually received its spirit of holiness and apostolic zeal from faithful use of the Exercises? Does history show the Sodality as the layman's incarnation of the principles of the Exercises, an incarnation growing more perfect and powerful through repeated use of the Exercises? Let us see whether an answer to this question can be found in history.

Method of Search

There is only one way of discovering whether or not historically the Sodality received its spiritual vigor and apostolic life principally from the Exercises: study the documented history of the outstanding Sodalities and sodalists of the past. To do this profitably, however, we must clearly state what the three or four basic principles of the Exercises are which we hope to discover in the lives of the sodalists and their Sodalities. Secondly, we must determine whether or not the incarnation of Ignatian principles was caused through retreats and spiritual direction based on the Exercises.

Careful analysis of the Spiritual Exercises would seem to yield the following four principles to be used as measuring rods of sodalists and Sodalities in their Ignatian spirit:

---

[3] Allocution of Rev. Fr. Gen. Janssens to the International Congress of Promoters of the Sodality of Our Lady, April 15-22, 1950.

[3BIS] Emile Villaret, S.J., *Petit Abrégé d'Histoire,* Montreal, 1953, Introduction by Louis Paulussen, S.J., 19.

1. A condition for giving a retreat is that the retreatants be men of good will who are intellectually capable of the Exercises.

2. The ultimate aim of the Exercises is to help the exercitant think and act with the hierarchical Church (a definition of Catholic Action) out of personal loyalty to Christ. Confer "Rules for Thinking with the Church."

3. The proximate aim is to help the exercitant firmly choose according to God's Will either his state of life or something which will perfect him in a previously selected state of life.

4. To achieve these aims, three means are enjoined: a) faithful following of spiritual direction; b) faithful use of the sacraments, mental prayer, the examen of conscience; c) devotedness to the Mother of God.

With these principles in mind, we are ready to consider the intertwining histories of these two Jesuit apostolic instruments. Their history falls into two broad natural divisions: one runs from the giving of the first group-retreats and the forming of the first pre-Sodality organizations around 1539 to the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. The seond division runs from the restoration of the Society in 1814 to the 1950's. Our subject, then, will be treated in two parts according to a chronological order with occasional considerations of particular trends and aspects.

Part I: 1539-1773

Pre-Sodality Organizations

As early as 1539, Brou tells us[4], retreats given to just one person were found to be inadequate to meet the needs of the times. As a result we find Peter Faber and Lainez beginning to give group retreats, and these according to the diverse strata of society, e.g., priests, nobles, the bourgeois, women. Later on, this same technique of group and strata was employed in giving missions in towns and outlying districts.

Soon these zealous men discovered that the best way to preserve the new-found holiness and zeal of the retreatants

[4] Alexandre Brou, S.J., *Les Exercices de St. Ignace de Loyola*, Paris, 1922, 56.

was to form them into permanent groups or clubs.[5] These organizations also served the useful purpose of catechizing the ignorant or feeding and clothing the poor. Ignatius himself founded one such organization in Rome to care for the poor[6] and by 1540 Peter Faber had already set up another at Parma. Soon we hear of Broet founding a congregation at Faenza in 1544; Nadal, one at the birthplace of St. Francis of Paula and three at Messina in 1549; Lainez and Domenech, one at Palermo. Then additional lay-organizations appear at Naples in 1553, at Ferrara and Florence in 1557.[7] It would seem that almost all the first founders of the Society had a hand in this work.

The unanimity with which these men worked is very striking, and so too, is the structural similarity of the groups they founded. But even more remarkable is the collective likeness of these organizations to the first Sodalities. Villaret sketches this similarity for us as follows:

> One already sees in the structure of these first organizations the principal characteristics which will distinguish all real Sodalities through four centuries of historical existence. Besides devotion to the Holy Virgin, there is the collaboration of the laymen in the activity of the priest, especially in those ministries in which the priest cannot or should not work directly. There is a specialized form of the apostolate in accordance with the age and class of the people involved. There is influence exercised on the crowd through an elite group. There is a formation of this elite to such a fullness of the personal spiritual life that it spills over into exterior works. There is that limitless variety of works of devotion, of charity, of zeal. Lastly, there is that delicately supple adaption of certain definite and firm principles to the most diverse and changing circumstances.[8]

Some additional characteristics mentioned by Villaret in the course of describing these pre-Sodality organizations are the recitation of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, frequent Holy Communion and confession, mental prayer, examens, care of the poor, nursing the sick and dying, assistance for convicts and those condemned to death, and instruction

---

[5] Emile Villaret, S.J., "Les Premières Origines des Congrégations Mariales," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, VI, 1937, 44-45.
[6] Emile Villaret, S.J., *Les Congrégations Mariales*, Paris, 1947, I, 24.
[7] *Ibid.*, 25-31.
[8] *Ibid.*, 26.

of the ignorant in the faith.[9] But a factor of particular note is that the vast majority of these groups were produced by the Spiritual Exercises, often merely the First Week preached as a mission. This will partially explain their close similarity to the future Sodality; for both the pre-Sodality organizations and the Sodality prescribed the living of the main principles of the Ignatian Exercises which their members had just undergone. These organizations were conceived of as prolongations of the Spiritual Exercises in everyday life.

John Leunis and the Prima Primaria

The pre-Sodality organizations form an important part of the milieu in which John Leunis founded the first Sodality, later to be known as the *Prima Primaria*. He had come into contact with the early confraternities at Parma, Florence, and Ferrara and with their directors such as John Nicholas de Notariis, Louis de Coudret, and Pontius Cogordon. It is no surprise then that Leunis should model his Sodality in the Roman College along the lines of its predecessors.

Encouraged by his success in gathering an elite corps of young students for instruction, prayer, and apostolic work, Leunis decided to stiffen the requirements of the group. This step was to be the actual founding of the Sodality in 1563.

> He gave it some rules for its spiritual life and exterior activity, an adaption, scaled down for boys, of those rules which St. Ignatius, Faber, Broet, Lainez and others had sketched for their men's organizations: confession, and communion (frequent for those times), meetings in the tiny college chapel assigned to them, meditation, fraternal exchange of views in which each one recounts what he has done during the day and what he proposes to do the following day, visits to holy places and to the shrines of saints, care of the poor.[10]

All this was, of course, placed under the protection of the Blessed Virgin and dedicated to her. However, there seems to be no direct evidence that this first sodality is the result of an Ignatian retreat or mission, as its predecessors certainly were. Nevertheless there is some indication, especially in the rules and customs of the congregation, that the boys were formed at least by the principle of the Exercises if not by

---

[9] *Ibid.*, 24-36.
[10] *Ibid.*, 44.

the actual Exercises themselves; for not only do the above-mentioned activities have a distinctive Ignatian spirit, but Leunis himself was a strong believer in the efficacy of the Exercises. Early in his career he made very vigorous representations to superiors a number of times for permission to make the Exercises in a way which his shortened novitiate had made impossible.[11] Besides, when preparing the ground for his second Sodality at Paris in 1568, Leunis introduced the boarding students to the Spiritual Exercises and other practices which would later be Sodality customs. If Leunis' first foundation was not the direct fruit of an Ignatian retreat, his second at Paris certainly was.[12]

Francis Coster and Northern Europe

While Leunis was founding the Sodality in France and Italy and meeting many disheartening contradictions, Francis Coster, almost a cofounder with Leunis, was planting the Sodality all over Northern Europe and meeting only success. Here, again, we find the same pattern: confession, communion, and meditation are emphasized and made frequent; steady application to study is demanded of student-sodalists; a written report of the care given to the poor, ignorant, wanderers, sinners, and heretics is exacted; good example is so powerful that professors thank Coster for making discipline and teaching much easier. But what is most surprising, timid souls complain to Father General that there are too many general confessions to handle and that there will be too many vocations, so many that the Protestants will protest.[13] These last items indicate the presence of the Spiritual Exercises whose First Week is geared to the general confession and whose Second Week throws a spotlight on choosing a state of life. Yet no direct documentary evidence for this conclusion was found.

Nobles' Sodalities of Naples, Lyons, Rome

Though the documentary evidence for the close cohesion of Sodality and Exercises is meager in the first Sodalities, it is much more abundant in the Nobles' Sodalities founded just

---

[11] Joseph Wicki, S.J., *Le Père Jean Leunis*, Rome, 1951, 21 and 54.
[12] *Ibid.*, 51 and 53.
[13] Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 62-68 esp. 67 and 68.

a decade later. At Naples in 1582 we find Father Vincent Carrafa successfully making drastic demands on his sodalists; for example, that they care for the incurables and the lowest criminals. His secret?

> As for the interior life, there was nothing Father Carrafa did not do to keep it intense and generous in the hearts of his Sodalists. The general communions, adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament, and above all the Exercises of St. Ignatius which he gave them each year for eight days, reveal to us the secret of those prodigies of virtue.[14]

At Lyons in 1593 following a Lenten mission, the nobles brought their servants to the church of the Jesuits and had them formed into a Sodality. But the director of the Servants' Sodality was not satisfied; he wanted a real retreat for his men. So, both the nobles and the servants made the retreat at the same time in neighboring places.[15]

Meanwhile at Rome in the same year the Roman Nobles' Sodality was framing its candidate-rules in which a pre-admission retreat was recommended. Later in 1609 these rules were recast but the recommendation of a pre-admission retreat was retained. As for the main body of sodalists, "something of the nature of a retreat seems to have been made during the octave before the feast of the Assumption. Two or three hours of meditation were given to it by many and a good number made a general confession."[16] This quasi-retreat is mentioned again in 1663 and 1664. But the Roman Sodality did not do this regularly each year, for "of regular retreats every year we do not hear until 1724. After this, the retreat seems to have been a regular exercise every year."[17] The three Nobles' Sodalities just described are, then, explicitly motivated in their apostolate and interior life by the Ignatian Exercises—an annual eight day affair in at least one of them.

Lest a person get the idea that only the nobility and college students were interested in the Sodality, it might be well to consider the Sodality of convicts formed in Naples in

---

[14] Augustus Drive, S.J., *The Sodality of Our Lady, Historical Sketches*, New York, 1916, 41.

[15] Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 262-263.

[16] Elder Mullan, S.J., *The Nobles' Sodality in Rome*, St. Louis, 1918, 127.

[17] *Ibid.*

1617. It seems that the guards smiled with indulgent irony when Father Ferracuto and two Scholastics came to the prison to prepare the prisoners for confession. This infuriated Father Ferracuto who decided then and there to form a convict Sodality. Having gathered a small select group, he got them to go to Communion once a month, hear daily Mass, make meditation, do spiritual reading, take corporal penances, study catechism in order to teach it to the other prisoners, patch up quarrels, take part in Wednesday and Saturday processions of penance down the corridors of the prison (What a triumph over human respect that must have been!), and take care of new arrivals by washing them, fixing up their cells, seeing that they got some hot food. Was it successful?

> Soon the Sodality of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel was not enough and under the title of the Annunciation we see a second Sodality spring up for the better educated convicts who, in addition to the above-mentioned practices, made the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius every year and took care of their sick and dying companions.[18]

This somewhat strange beginning of the convict Sodalities cannot distract us from the source of their continued success —the Ignatian retreat.

The soldier Sodalities are another interesting aspect of Sodality history. It appears that in the majority of cases they were the fruit of an Ignatian mission. Since the soldiers were often transferred from place to place, they could not have a stable director, for the chaplaincy was not an integrated unit of the army as nowadays. The soldier Sodality of Zagreb is a typical one, sad to say. A Jesuit describes his experience this way:

> There was much to do at the mission given at Corlovac. There they set up a Marian Sodality to the great joy of the whole garrison; but it had hardly started when the negligence of the clergy let the whole thing be whipped away into oblivion like smoke. The same thing happened at the fort of Cice.[19]

And yet out of these discouraging failures great men arose. For example, Tilly, Commander-in-chief of the Catholic League in its titantic struggle with the French-Swedish-North German combine, was a sodalist who said his rosary every

---

[18] Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 501-502.
[19] *Ibid.*, 257.

evening (and sometimes through the night before a great battle) and who kept a perpetual vow of chastity. A man such as this is not produced by one mission, one Ignatian retreat; he must have made the Exercises a number of times to have made the Sodality-Spiritual Exercise principles so much a part of his life.

St. Francis de Sales

What is more astounding than sodalist generals is the large number of saints who declare themselves products of the Sodality. Significantly, almost the very same people are listed as products of the Spiritual Exercises by Father Zacheus Maher, S.J., in his booklet on the Exercises.[20] Among these the most illustrious are St. Charles Borremeo, St. Alphonsus de Ligouri, and St. Francis de Sales, the last two being Doctors of the Church. Though all three men would make interesting studies of how the Sodality and the Exercises interact, we will consider here, for want of space, only St. Francis de Sales.

In 1580 at the age of thirteen he entered the Leunis-founded Sodality at Paris. Here during his six years of studies he became assistant prefect and then prefect, being re-elected again and again.[21] At this time, with the approval of his director, he "prescribed for himself an hour's meditation each morning, confession and Communion every Sunday and feast day—frequent Communion then was very rare—the hair shirt Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday."[22] With this background it is understandable that when Francis left the College of Clermont for the University of Padua, he sought out Father Anthony Possevino,[23] then director of the University of Padua Sodality, for his spiritual guide. Most probably Francis attached himself to this Sodality since Rule 12 of the 1587 Sodality Rules made law what was previously custom for transferring sodalists, namely, the obligation to enter the Sodality of that place to which they were moving by presenting

---

[20] Zacheus Maher, S.J., *Under the Seal of the Fisherman*, Los Altos, 1948, 51-53.

[21] Drive, *A History of the Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin*, Boston, 1885, 243.

[22] Louis Sempé, S.J., *St. Francis de Sales*, Milwaukee, 1933, 111.

[23] Louise M. Stacpoole-Kenny, *St. Francis de Sales*, London, 1909, 124-125.

credentials of good standing from the Sodality they had left. At any rate, it was under the guidance of the Padua Jesuits and later under the spiritual direction of Father Fourier that De Sales continued to receive instruction in Ignatian spirituality. He thought so highly of it that each year he made the Spiritual Exercises for ten days, and he died with the Jesuit Fourier at his bedside.[24]

To appreciate the importance of St. Francis de Sales and his contribution to the spirituality of the Church, it is good to recall that at the end of the sixteenth century under the pressure of the Renaissance and the Protestant Revolt, the Church had been forced to yield her dominating position over culture. If great numbers of souls, therefore, were not to be lost, culture must be won for the Church. But how could this be done and who would do it? Both these questions were at least partially answered by St. Francis. The church historian Joseph Lortz tells us:

> As time went on the necessity of a voluntary return of culture to the Church became ever more pressing. Together with many others St. Francis de Sales deserves special credit in this work. Its importance is not yet sufficiently grasped.[25]

Popularizing Asceticism

What was this important work of St. Francis? The popularization of asceticism, the founding of our modern spirituality for the layman. And what is this? Père Sempé, S.J., explains it for us.

> And now why does this spirituality of Francis de Sales merit the name of being modern? He was obliged to free it from monastic observances and to adapt it to the conditions of the world. Do not think that this is a small thing. Essentially, the spiritual life is the reign of God in the soul by the submission of our will to His; and that is a fact of the most intimate order. But in the religious state, devotion is bound more or less to a whole system of observances: effective separation from the world, abstinence and fasting, psalmody by day and by night, vows of poverty, of chastity, and of obedience, coarse costume, minute rule. St. Francis de Sales taught his disciples that these practices, impossible in the world, could be replaced for the people of the world by others more simple, which, when combined with the duties of their state, would have the most sanctifying effect. Mental prayer would take the

---

[24] Sempé, *St. Francis de Sales*, 111.
[25] Joseph Lortz, *History of the Church*, Milwaukee, 1938, 425.

> place of psalmody, and would animate by its fervor the assistance at daily Mass and at the parish offices. Communion would return, little by little, to the frequency of the first centuries; the duties of state accomplished in a Christian manner, and the miseries of life accepted would supply for the austerities of the cloister; and spiritual direction for the monastic rule.[26]

This was St. Francis' great contribution to the Church; he brought asceticism out of the cloister and into the modern market place by adapting monastic life to the layman's needs. And does not this revolutionary concept of a layman's life closely resemble Sodality life and rule?—a strange coincidence unless Francis got these ideas from the Sodality and the Exercises.

A particularly noteworthy fact is De Sales' emphasis on the performance of the duties of one's state of life. This is exactly the emphasis of Ignatius in the Exercises. The Sodality, having its origins principally in college life, also stresses duties of vocation when its Third Rule (Rules of 1587) states: "the end of this Sodality is Christian virtue and piety together with progress in literary studies." Because of its sensitivity to perfection of state of life, the Sodality strove for selectivity among its members and tried whenever possible to group them in Sodalities according to life-work, age, and stratum of society. It would seem highly probable, then, that St. Francis' inventiveness was rather an intelligent borrowing and popularizing of the Spiritual Exercises as he saw them lived in the Sodality.

Père Sempé, in endeavoring to crystallize for us the work of De Sales, supports this view.

> Of modern asceticism, St. Francis de Sales, was without any doubt the most exact, the most brilliant, and the most gracious popularizer. In one word, let us say, he is, and he still remains, its Doctor. He is not, however, its creator. This method of sanctity was born with the Spiritual Exercises which are anterior to the *Introduction to a Devout Life* by at least three quarters of a century. He himself had lived according to this method with his instructors, the Jesuits, at Paris and Padua. He assimilated it then in a reflex manner with Father Fourier, his spiritual director, under whom each year he made a ten day's retreat.[27]

---

[26] Sempé, *St. Francis de Sales*, 109-110, cf. Lortz, *Hist. of Ch.*, 425-427.

[27] *Ibid.*, 111.

In this single paragraph Père Sempé has neatly fused together into one influential principle the Sodality and the Exercises when he states that St. Francis had lived according to the Exercises at Paris and Padua; for this life was the Sodality. But Père Sempé is not content with the above statement; he adds later on:

> The *Introduction to a Devout Life* and the *Treatise of the Love of God* can be considered as a commentary on the Spiritual Exercises. I do not think that the author of the Exercises knows, outside of his own order, a disciple more authentic than the author of the *Introduction to a Devout Life* and the *Treatise of the Love of God.*[28]

If it is true that through the influence of the Exercises St. Francis was able to show clearly not only that sanctity was possible for a layman but also how it was possible, may it not also be true that the living out of the Exercises by his Sodality friends helped De Sales very much to see the possibility of lay perfection and the detailed method of accomplishing it? This would be no small contribution to the Church, for from it would stem the mighty movement of twentieth century Catholic Action and modern lay spirituality.

The Sodality retreats thus far mentioned were mainly open retreats, that is to say, a time of special recollection during which there is a talk and meditation in the morning and another set in the evening, while in between these the Sodalist goes about his usual duties of the day with greater efforts at recollection. The weaknesses of such a retreat are evident, especially when contrasted with the silence, complete detachment from worldly affairs, and power of concentration possible in a closed retreat. Apparently there was a gradual realization of this fact. At Naples, for example, early in the seventeenth century, Father Pavone had so well organized retreats for groups of clergy and laity, that he even planned to build a special retreat house just for Bishops. Being the child of the Exercises, the Sodality took an active part in this work, and so "other centres were formed, particularly by the Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin, henceforth to be prominently associated with the work in many countries."[29]

---

[28] *Ibid.*, 46-47.

[29] Charles Plater, S.J., *Retreats for the People*, London, 1912, 32.

It was only natural that this should happen, for Père de Guibert tells us that "among the Sodalities the principal instrument of sanctification employed by the Jesuits were retreats, especially the closed retreats given in houses which were specially, and often exclusively, dedicated to this ministry."[30] It is well to note that in this instance Père de Guibert is concerned with the period extending from 1615 to 1758.

But such was not the case everywhere. In commenting upon the *Prima Primaria* Sodality at Rome, Father Mullan says, "Though individuals in the *Prima Primaria* doubtless made retreats from the earliest days on, there is no mention of a collective retreat until 1669."[31] The *Prima Primaria*, then, would seem to have been far behind a good number of the other European Sodalities in this matter, especially since its collective retreat was an open one. Villaret also mentions this fact concerning the *Prima Primaria's* 1669 retreat and generalizes concerning Sodality retreats as follows:

> Retreats played an important role in the spiritual life of the Sodality: monthly retreats (weekly in the Sodalities of the Gesu at Rome) with preparation for death and recitation or chanting of the office of the dead; the annual retreat of the Spiritual Exercises for three days, more often for four or five, and in some cases for eight. The solitary retreat goes back to the very beginnings, but the group retreats were introduced progressively, little by little, everywhere.[32]

It is interesting to note that Villaret says nothing here of closed group retreats though the individual retreats he speaks of may well have been closed. Could it be that the collective retreats were not as widespread as Père Guibert and Father Plater seem to say, or is it that Villaret simply does not consider them at this point? It is significant that his book, *Congregationes Mariales*, is comparatively silent about them. However, it would be strangely unlike De Guibert and Plater to generalize the way they do unless they had a fund of facts to draw upon. Therefore, it can be safely said that the Sodal-

---

[30] Joseph de Guibert, S.J., *La Spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Rome, 1953, 292.

[31] Elder Mullan, S.J., *The History of the Prima Primaria*, St. Louis, 1917, 113.

[32] Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 369.

ity contributed substantially to the closed-retreat movement and made frequent use of it.

Pageants and Jesuit Spiritual Writing

Some indication of the extent of Sodality influence on the Spiritual Exercises, and vice versa, is indicated by two interesting developments of the seventeenth century: the pageant-dramatization of the Exercises by Sodalities and the writing of spiritual books expressly for Sodalists.

The pageant is found as early as 1602. They say that at the end of the presentation of Bidermann's *Cenodoxus*, a number of the audience asked to begin the Spiritual Exercises immediately.[33] But perhaps the most famous of these productions was the *Theatrum Solitudinis Aceticae* directed by Francis Lang in 1717. In it, under the form of a series of scenes enacted by the Sodality of Munich, there appear the meditations and contemplations of the four weeks of the Exercises.[34] This was an auspicious opening for the eighteenth century, as we shall see later, and it symbolizes a keen interest in the Exercises among Sodalists.

However, a clearer indication of this interest is the fact that during the seventeenth century a notable part of the spiritual writings published by Jesuits was destined for and dedicated to the Sodality.[35] This was particularly true of Germany. There a sizeable number of these works, one running to five volumes, were commentaries on the Exercises—a certain sign that the Sodality retreat was a thriving thing, for we are told that "these manuals were, if not exclusively, at least primarily designed to maintain the piety of Sodalists."[36]

Women's Quasi-Sodalities

It was the brief of Benedict XIV *Quo Tibi* that opened the Sodality to women in 1751. However, the door was opened only a crack because the document reserved to the Jesuits the power to aggregate women's Sodalities and they were known to favor men's Sodalities. Thus it was that women's Sodalities did not become prominent in numbers until around 1824.

---

[33] de Guibert, *La Spiritualité*, 292, footnote.
[34] *Ibid.*, 421.
[35] *Ibid.*, 290.
[36] *Ibid.*, 329.

However, there are a few such Sodalities antedating 1751 and so they are called "quasi-Sodalities."

Their origin is interesting. In 1702 Father General Thyrsus Gonzalez inaugurated simple retreats to married women in the Caravita oratory.[37] These women, who formed the aristocracy of Rome, were so impressed that they asked whether or not their households might not also share in their good fortune. As a result two confraternities were formed, one of the nobility and another of their attendants and servants. However, they were definitely not full-fledged Sodalities since they met but once a month for a day of recollection, had no organized apostolate or spiritual direction, and were not aggregated to the *Prima Primaria.*

But at Marseilles Père Croiset directed a confraternity of women that lacked only aggregation to the *Prima Primaria* to make it a genuine Sodality, for each day its members made a morning and evening meditation of a half-hour, heard Mass, recited the Little Office and the rosary, made a visit to the Blessed Sacrament, fifteen minutes of spiritual reading and a particular examination of conscience. Besides monthly days of recollection, there was an annual eight day retreat of four exercises per day. Holy Eucharist was received on all feasts of Our Lord and Our Lady and a general communion was made on the first Saturday of the month. As for the apostolate, "they promoted love of the home, avoidance of useless visits, simplicity in dress (no small sacrifice in the days when elaborate dress was the fashion), submission to the divine will in trials, respect and kindness towards their husbands, the Christian education of their children."[38] In addition, every Saturday four ladies were appointed to accompany the Blessed Sacrament to the sick and another eight Sodalists visited the poor of the city's four hospitals while two others visited the sick poor in each parish. Once a week four of the ladies visited the women prisoners of the city. Here were an apostolate and a spiritual life the equal of anything hitherto seen, and powering them was the annual Ignatian retreat of four exercises per day, a stern and demanding schedule for women who had to run households at

---

[37] Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 276-277.
[38] Joseph Sommer, S.J., *Marian Catholic Action*, St. Louis, 1953, 14.

the same time. Again, the Spiritual Exercises demonstrate their efficacy, especially when they are prolonged into everyday life throughout the year by a way of life embodying their basic principles.

The Spreading Retreat Movement

It was said previously that the dramatization of the Exercises by Sodalists was a significant fact in the eighteenth century. This is what was meant: in this century evidence of the Sodality retreat movement becomes abundant and so do its fruits even if they are not fully appreciated until the Sodality has been suppressed in France and the Society of Jesus throughout the world.

In Father Mullan's account of some of these eighteenth century retreats, note the wide variety of classes represented and the continuity given by annual retreats.

> An eight days retreat was also made by the Gentlemen's Sodality at Aix in 1697. The Innsbruck Students' Sodality made a three day retreat each year from 1734 to 1773. In 1739, the larger Sodality at Linz made its usual retreat in the last days of Lent; the smaller at Pentecost. The Louvain Students' Sodality retreats began in 1739. The Antwerp Sodality, in 1742, introduced a four days' retreat, with exercises morning and evening. The Munich Citizens' Sodality, in the fifties of the eighteenth century had its retreat every second year at the beginning of Lent. A retreat of five days was given to the Citizens' and Young Workingmen's Sodalities of Grenoble in 1750: 1200 attended. The Peasants' Sodality at Avignon had a week's retreat in 1753. After 1760, the Citizens' Sodality at Linz had its retreat in Advent.[39]

Once again it is noticeable that the closed retreat is not evident among the retreats listed, though perhaps one or two of them may have been closed.

Collegiate Retreats

Yet there was a new movement afoot which, if it was not the closed retreat movement, certainly could lend itself to it. This was the collegiate retreat which seems to have found great favor by the middle of the eighteenth century. Apparently it was a retreat made on the college grounds; now, since many of these colleges had boarders, it would be a simple step

---

[39] Elder Mullan, S.J., *The Sodality of Our Lady Studied in the Documents*, New York, 1912, 135.

during vacation periods to house the retreatants in the boarders' quarters, thus eliminating the need for the exercitants to return home after the day's exercises. This is how Father Plater describes the movement:

> By the middle of the eighteenth century what may be called collegiate retreats found general favor. The Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin gave a great impetus to the movement. At Rome the members of the *Prima Primaria* went through the Spiritual Exercises every year. So did the Sodalists of the Immaculate Conception, who were for the most part clerics. At Naples, Milan, Genoa, Turin, Parma, Bologna, Brescia, and elsewhere we find retreats established. Nor was the custom confined to Italy. It existed in the schools and colleges of France, Germany, Austria and other lands.[40]

It would be natural that the Sodalities should give impetus to this movement since there were Sodalities in all Jesuit colleges and they would be the first to make collegiate retreats. If we may judge, however, from later records of Sodality activity,[41] their interest was not confined merely to making retreats themselves but were extended to providing retreats for others. To make the sacrifices involved in such work, it takes a deep conviction that the Exercises are well worthwhile; to give a "great impetus to the movement" demands that the Exercises not only be appreciated but have so penetrated the life of the average Sodalist that he thinks in terms of them and makes them an important part of his apostolate. Perhaps this explains the marvelous fecundity of the eighteenth century Sodality.

Parish Sodalities

Nor by any means was Sodality retreat work restricted just to the colleges. An interesting picture is drawn for us of the average parish Sodality by such diverse personalities as the Curé of St. Michel at Dijon and Cardinal de Beausset. The Curé reports in 1761:

> In my parish I know no better parishioners than those who are attached to the Sodalities established by the Reverend Jesuits and who derive profit from the retreats which the latter give each year with special adaptation for artisans. I am so impressed that very sincerely I would like all the workers in my parish to

---

[40] Plater, *Retreats*, 39-40.
[41] Mullan, *Sodality in Documents*, 160.

follow or to be able to follow the example given by those few who are present for the retreats at Dijon.[42]

Though the Curé's report reads somewhat like a patent medicine endorsement at the turn of the century, nevertheless it details well the usual familiar pattern: annual retreats, adaptation to life of retreatants, good example of the few drawing the multitude closer to Christ. The following picture drawn by Cardinal de Beausset complements the observations of the Curé since the Cardinal describes the effects of the exemplary life led by Sodality members.

> People living in the leading commercial cities still recall that never was there more order and tranquillity, more probity in business matters, fewer bankruptcies, fewer foreclosures than when the Sodalities existed. Called to the education of the leading families of the state, the Jesuits extended their apostolate to the lower classes whom they maintained in a happy life based on the religious and moral virtues. Such was the useful goal of these numerous Sodalities which they created in all the cities and which they were accustomed to tie in with all the professions and all the social institutions. By means of simple, easy exercises of piety, by means of instructions fitted to each class yet not doing any harm to the traditions and duties of society, the Jesuits have served to maintain in different classes such regularity of morals, such a sense of order and of subordination, such a wise economy as preserves the peace and harmony of families and assures the prosperity of empires.[43]

Despite its distinctly bourgeois caste this statement is a fine panegyric. The prayer-life of the sodalists, their works, their spirit, are worth little unless they change their very milieu in its institutions, social and professional. This, according to the Cardinal, they did. But they would never have done it, we can be sure, without the Spiritual Exercises to give them motivation, occasion for grace, and singleness of purpose.

Suppression of Society and Sodality

But a terrible tragedy was soon to wipe out this magnificent work. For some inscrutable reason at the seeming height of their achievement God determined to allow the suppression of the Society of Jesus throughout the world and the Sodality in France. To us looking back upon the event almost two centuries later, God's reasons seem a bit more evident than

---

[42] Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 555-556, footnote.
[43] *Ibid.*, 213.

to those living close to the suppression. Lamennais makes this sad report which shows what the Sodality meant to France, the first country to suppress it.

> When in 1762 the Sodalities were for the most part destroyed along with the Jesuits who had formed and directed them with so much wisdom, in less than eighteen years the capital witnessed a fifty percent drop in the number of people who fulfilled their Easter duty. Around the same time and for the same reason we saw laid aside pious practices, daily visits to the churches, common prayer in the families—an omen, far too certain, of the annihilation of the faith.[44]

Would it be too drastic a conclusion to say that, had the Sodality lived on in Paris and in France, the terrible fury of the French Revolution might have been somewhat abated and its energies channeled towards a truer *liberté, fraternité,* and *égalité* without the terrible bloodshed and the crazed anti-clericalism which actually occurred? But aside from futile wonderings, it is clear that the Sodality had a powerful and widespread influence on public life, an influence based on its interior life fed by the spirit of the Exercises.

If there is one conclusion to be drawn from the first part of this Sodality-Exercises history sketch, it is this: at the beginning of every outstanding Sodality, no matter what the type, one finds almost always the Spiritual Exercises inspiring its growth and strength. This is true from the first pre-Sodality organizations of the Jesuit founding fathers to the great suppressed Sodalities of France.

A second noteworthy fact is that the basic principles of the Exercises usually radiate out from the Sodality in the form of saints such as Francis de Sales who popularized Ignatian spirituality for the layman, and in the form of Sodality-sponsored retreat centers and retreat pageants, and in the form of Sodality-inspired spiritual literature, which often enough took the shape of manuals dealing with the Ignatian Exercises.

A third fact to be considered is this: the basic principles of the Exercises, as analyzed previously in the introduction to this study, are seen in the everyday lives of the sodalists. Let us briefly consider each of the four principles.

---

[44] *Ibid.*, 214.

The first principle, reserving the Exercises for willing and intellectually capable retreatants, is observed in the Sodality through a careful selection of candidates for its membership, through the rigorous probation given them, through the constant demand that consecrated sodalists live up entirely to the Sodality Rule (which embody the Exercises) or leave its ranks, through the care taken to form Sodalities according to the diverse vocations of society so that, by the consequent concentration of thought and effort, the sodalists may be spurred on to greater perfection in their special profession or job and thus may become more and more capable of deriving fruit from the Exercises and of Christianizing their milieu.

The second principle, thinking and acting in union with the hierarchy, is seen clearly in the way that the Sodality cooperated with the Holy See and the bishops to throw back the Protestant Revolt, starting from that first great encounter in Cologne against the apostate archbishop Truchsess[45] and continuing until the suppression of the French Sodalities for their too evident loyalty to the Roman Pontiff.

The third principle, choosing a state of life or perfecting a previously chosen state, is seen first in the remarkable number of clerical vocations nurtured by the Sodality (for example, at Naples in 1582 30 religious vocations and in 1584 21 more; at Rouen 30 in one year; at Avignon 45 in one year; at Antwerp in 1612 30, and in 1628 60).[46] This third principle is again seen in the number of canonized Sodality saints: 42.[47] It is also seen in outstanding sodalist popes, cardinals, bishops, kings, heads of government, generals, statesmen, artists, dramatists, and so on.[48] These men not only found their vocation, but attained some perfection in it through the Spiritual Exercises as embodied in the Sodality.

The fourth principle, using definite Ignatian means (such as spiritual direction, frequenting the sacraments, mental

---

[45] *Ibid.*, 126; also cf. 125-165.

[46] Augustus Drive, S.J., *Marie et la Compagnie de Jésus*, Uclés, 1895, 279-280; Also cf. de Guibert, *La Spiritualité*, 291.

[47] Joseph Sommer, S.J., *Sodality Challenge to Teen-Agers*, St. Louis, 1953, 37; also cf. Drive, *Sodality Hist. Sk.*, 148-151; de Guibert, *La Spiritualité*, 291.

[48] Drive, *Sodality Hist. Sk.*, 134-140.

prayer, devotedness to the Mother of God, examens) in working for the Church and in attaining sanctity, has been seen again and again in the prominent Sodalities and sodalists mentioned above.

Having seen the Sodality brought to high perfection by the Spiritual Exercises only to be crippled by the suppression of the Society of Jesus, we are now prepared to evaluate the second birth of the Sodality and her gradual growth to today's stature.

Part II: 1814-1955

Resumé of Part I

In the first part of this study, covering the era from 1539 to 1773, the roots of the Sodality were traced from the pre-Sodality organizations through the Leunis-founded Sodalities of France and Italy and the Francis Coster-Sodalities of northern Europe, up to the fine Nobles' Sodalities of Naples-Rome-Lyons and the Soldier and Servant Sodalities (with a pause to consider the great Sodality saints such as St. Francis de Sales) until we came to the great seventeenth and eighteenth century flowering of the Sodality in its retreat centers, its pageants of the Spiritual Exercises, its splendid women's auxiliary organizations, its collegiate retreats, its production of excellent spiritual books for the layman. Finally came the suppression of the Society of Jesus and the languishing of the Sodality. Three notable facts were discovered: 1. almost every outstanding Sodality was nourished on the Spiritual Exercises as a staple diet; 2. the Exercises radiated out from the Sodality in the form of saints, Sodality retreat houses, Ignatian pageants, specialized retreat literature; 3. the basic principles of the Exercises were incarnated in the lives of outstanding sodalists and in the achievements of good Sodalities. With this résumé before us, the intriguing history of the Sodality and the Spiritual Exercises can be studied in their second era, 1814-1955.

"The Suppression of the Society of Jesus struck a fatal blow at the Sodalities."[49] And this is just what the enemies

[49] *Ibid.*, 152.

of the Church had hopefully planned. However, Pope Clement XIV, after suppressing the Jesuits, tried his best to preserve the Sodality by means of his brief *Commendatissimam* which gave her at least legal life. But this would not be enough; for, though the *Prima Primaria* was saved by two zealous priests, Anthony Vittene and Septimus Costanzi, "elsewhere, with very few exceptions, the Sodalities, after having languished for a short while, ended by dying out."[50] Even before the suppression of the Jesuits the Sodality had been hit hard by the Society's expulsion from Spain, Portugal, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and from their colonies throughout the world. But now with the world-wide suppression of the Society of Jesus the situation looked hopeless. Although intrepid bishops would place former Jesuits in charge of the now diocesan Sodalities, the aging Jesuit would be unable either to find or to train a successor. Another major difficulty was the average priest's unfamiliarity with the spirit of the Sodality because of his unfamiliarity with the Spiritual Exercises as a way of life. On account of the consequent lack of forceful direction, the apostolate tended to disappear from Sodality life and with it went spiritual vigor. Soon a good number of Sodalities became mere prayer-leagues and their members turned away to more interesting occupations. Although this decadence might be gradual, it was still fatal and could lead only to death.

Few Living Sodalities

What has been said is not meant to be taken as an affirmation that there existed no Sodalities of worth during this period. But the magnificent work of a Delpuits in Paris or a Chaminade at Bordeaux or a Louis Mossi at Bergamo or a Gaspard Bertoni at Verona could be wiped out, and often enough was, by a sudden decree of the civil authorities. The Sodality needs stability; this it lacked in the European uproar caused by the French Revolution and Napoleonic meddling. Besides, it needed the unifying influence of the two agencies which produced it, the Society of Jesus and the Spiritual Exercises. This it received in three decisive steps. In 1814 Pius VII restored the Society throughout the world,

[50] *Ibid.*, 153.

in 1824 Leo XII restored the Sodality to its former canonical status, and in 1825 the same Pontiff gave all necessary faculties to the *Prima Primaria* to aggregate to itself all other Sodalities, even those not directed by Jesuits.

On looking back to this period, one feels sadness at seeing how much good work had been destroyed during the Suppression period. Yet the fact that the Sodality issued from the combat as a Church-wide organization and not merely as a Jesuit organization may perhaps afford some consolation. What effect all this had on the Sodality and the Spiritual Exercises will be partially seen in the following pages.

The New Sodalities

Villaret describes the changes that had occurred in Catholic spirituality and, therefore, sodalist spirituality, during the four decades of the Society's suppression.

> This progress [in Sodality spirituality] parallels that in Catholic spirituality, or to put it more exactly, is joined with it. Such progress is evident, for example, in personal spiritual direction, in a use of the sacraments which is more frequent than ever, in the custom of closed retreats and of monthly recollections.[51]

The last item in Villaret's enumeration, the custom of closed retreats, is especially interesting since he speaks of it as something almost new in Sodality spirituality yet calls it a custom. The roots of the closed retreat movement have already been found in the retreat centers and collegiate retreats sponsored by the Sodality. It would seem that these roots had sent up a sturdy trunk with great limbs and luxuriant foliage some of which had weathered the Napoleonic storms. In his history of the Society of Jesus in France, Father Burnichon, S.J., describes well the Jesuit part in this retreat movement as he endeavors to defend his fellow religious from the charge that they minister only to the rich.

> One often hears it said that the Society of Jesus reserves its apostolate, or at least its preferences, for the upper classes of society. An inventory of the Sodalities founded and directed by her priests in the course of this century furnishes the perfect refutation of this charge. The Sodalities are one of the instruments which the Society of Jesus ordinarily uses to strengthen, develop and perpetuate the work begun in its missions and spiritual retreats.

---

[51] Villaret, *Abrégé*, 248.

> In every city which has received them the Jesuits have uniformly put forth every effort to organize Sodalities for the different classes of people. Now, it is a fact that the majority of the Sodalities are recruited from those of modest circumstances, even the humblest.[52]

Since the writer is chronicling the 1814-1830 period, evidently the Jesuits quickly struck out into the turbulent stream of events and began setting up their Sodalities as islands of security. The fact that the Sodalities were being used to "strengthen, develop, and perpetuate the work begun in missions and spiritual retreats," the fact that these Sodalities were, in the majority of cases, for those of the lower classes, and the fact that they were organized according to strata of society and the group's principal interest, all this points to a Sodality tradition in God-sent continuity with the pre-Suppression Society of Jesus.

A Genuinely Ignatian Sodality

The following account is a good example of the new Society's Sodality when it is thoroughly inspired with the *Exercises.*

> As a follow-up of a retreat given in January of 1815, Father Louis Debussi was eager to establish a Marian Sodality there (Seminary of Saint-Acheul near Amiens), but a genuine Sodality run according to true traditions. Here are some samples of the works that these young students and school boys undertook: visits to convicts, the sick, and the poor; care of chapels; conferences or discussions both doctrinal and apologetic; the apostolate of conversation, first communion preparation of children and adults, workers and soldiers. In two months' time they brought to confession sixty people who had been away from the sacraments for fifteen, twenty, and thirty years. In the hospital, where irreligion was dominant, out of four hundred sick persons, only one died in 1823 without the sacraments.[53]

But it would be far from the truth to state that many of the new Sodalities were as excellent as that of Saint-Acheul. At this time even the *Prima Primaria* would not be found in the best of health if its hospital recovery-chart were plotted according to its use of the annual retreat. Entries such as these are made by its secretary: 1831, Retreat of Salone Sodality attended by the *Prima Primaria;* (next entry) 1837,

---

[52] Joseph Burnichon, S.J., *La Compagnie de Jésus en France, 1814-1914,* I, xxv-xxvi.

[53] Villaret, *Abrégé,* 210.

same as in 1831; 1838, no longer any annual retreat; 1855, a program for retreat printed; 1862, invitation to retreat printed; 1865, new rule adopted: retreat for the *Prima Primaria* begins on Laetare Sunday and goes to Passion Sunday, it is to be held only afternoons; 1866 and 1871, retreats omitted because of concurrent missions; 1880, council decided not to revive the retreat which had fallen into desuetude because "it was easy to make a retreat elsewhere and only a few would come to the *Prima Primaria.*"[54]

There is no evidence of a special retreat in the *Prima Primaria* up to 1915, once the ruling of 1880 went into effect. Though for not a few Sodalities the above entries might be a crown of glory, for the *Prima Primaria* they are certainly something less than that. Perhaps what was happening in the *Prima Primaria* was also happening in other Sodalities despite the good example of those leading Sodalities who drew their strength from the Ignatian Exercises. Both types of Sodalities may well account for the long-awaited re-edition, in 1855, of the original Rules of 1587. It would pay us to consider the changes made and compare them with the later third edition of the Rules in 1910 because in the comparison we will likely see a reflection in miniature of the whole retreat movement within the Sodality from 1814 to 1910.

The Rules of 1857 and the Exercises

The first official Rules of the Sodality were those of 1587. Though they do not mention the Spiritual Exercises by name, they nevertheless contain a good number of the principles running through the Exercises. For example, obedience in will and intellect to the hierarchy is inculcated at least indirectly through insistence on obedience in Sodality matters to the officers, the prefect, and the director. Further, perfection in one's state of life, here student life, is demanded by the third rule stating that Christian piety and progress in literary studies form the aim of the Sodality. A definite Ignatian way of life is inculcated by Rule 4 urging a personal confessor, Rule 7 urging attendance at daily Mass, Rule 3 frequent Communion, Rule 8 nightly examen and frequent confession, Rule 1 devotedness to the Mother of God, Rule 8

[54] Mullan, *Hist. of Prim. Prmar.*, 226.

mental prayer and the rosary. Rule 9 insures selectivity, a basic principle of the Exercises, among those to be accepted by the Sodality as members. Rule 1 permits the making of local rules so long as they are consonant with the universal Rules of 1587. It is in these local rules that, as we have seen previously, there is frequently found a suggestion or stipulation of an annual retreat. As for the apostolate, besides progress in studies mentioned in Rule 3, the corporal works of mercy are demanded by Rules 8, 11, 13, and they are to be subject completely to the Sodality moderator and the superior of the college—again, obedience of will and intellect to the hierarchy through the local superiors.[55]

The Rules of 1855 and the Exercises

The Rules of 1587 were used until their new edition appeared in 1855 under the aegis of Father General Roothaan who took a very active part in their careful editing.[56] (It is interesting to note that Roothaan, the very cautious editor of the Exercises, also played an important part in this job of editing.) Actually the Rules of 1855 were those, almost to the letter, drawn up by Father Parthenius (Mazzolari) in 1750 but never put into effect because of the disturbed times and the impending Suppression of the Society of Jesus. Though the Society came back into existence in 1814 and received some control of the Sodality in 1825, the continuing political ferment held off any re-edition of the rules until 1855.[57]

A comparison of the Rules of 1587 with those of 1855 shows only minor changes, usually more detailed explanations of what had been previously stated in general terms. The one exception to this is the addition of the extensive Rule 9 concerning the Sodality retreat. The minor changes are principally the following: mention of the Society of Jesus is dropped from Rules 1 and 4 (because the Sodality is now Church-wide and not merely under Jesuit directors), greater emphasis is placed on having and staying with one confessor, spiritual reading is stressed more, the amount of time to be

---

[55] *De Congregationibus Marianis Documenta et Leges*, editor: Franciscus Beringer, Styria, 1909, 47-54.

[56] Villaret, *Abrégé*, 264.

[57] *Ibid.*

given to mental prayer is raised from *non nihil* to "at least fifteen minutes" per day, a special solemnity on the name day of each Sodality is urged. The very same selectivity is demanded in 1855 as in 1587. The candidate is to be carefully screened by director and prefect, then presented to a board of councilors for a vote of acceptance into candidacy, next handed over to a kind of master of novices for careful instruction and guidance, and after three months again presented to the councilors for a vote of acceptance or dismissal or prolongation of candidacy—a rigorous selectivity to be sure, but a basic tenet of the Exercises.[58]

Rule Nine Demanding Ignatian Retreat

The one big change in this first re-edition of the Rules, then, was the official prescription of the Spiritual Exercises in an annual retreat: *Suum etiam sodalibus quolibet anno a moderatore praescribatur tempus, quo tempore spiritualibus S. Ignatii exercitationibus vacent.*[59] The Rule goes on to say that the length of the retreat may be three, four, or more days. Further, the sodalist should recall meditatively at home what he has heard at the place of retreat. To help him in this matter, written instructions are to be given to him concerning the content of the Exercises and the time at which they are to be made. Therefore, meditations at home are extremely important. The retreat master is to aim at helping the sodalists make good confessions. To this end he is to give them points on frequent use of the sacraments, on the obligations of their present state of life, and on the election concerning a future state of life or a current problem. The order of the day is to be strictly followed: spiritual reading on meditation matter, an examen by the retreat master on frequent use of the sacraments etc., as above, an examen of meditation led by the retreat master, and finally the Mass. The same order is to be followed in the afternoon.

Thus Rule 9 prescribes an annual retreat which is open. The biggest stride forward is the stipulation of a retreat, no mere suggestion. Not, however, until the next edition of the Rules in 1910 will the closed retreat be strongly recommended.

---

[58] *De. Cong. Mar. Doc.*, ed. Beringer, 120-129, esp. 129-130.
[59] *Ibid.*, 123-124.

Consequently, the Sodality Rules themselves mirror the advance of the Spiritual Exercises to the front of the Sodality consciousness. But does this indicate that hitherto the Exercises were, comparatively speaking, neglected? Or was it rather that in the pre-Suppression Sodality they were so much an essential part of Sodality life that, like the dogma of the seven sacraments in the early Church, they needed hardly to be mentioned? The latter conclusion would appear to be much closer to the truth if the history of the pre-Suppression Sodalities is allowed to speak for itself.

Rules of 1910 and the Exercises

But the biggest advance in Sodality retreat legislation occurs in the 1910 re-edition of the Rules where the closed retreat is highly recommended and the open retreat is specified as six days in length. Because of this, it would pay us to take a look at the 1910 Rules while those of 1587 and 1855 are still fresh in the memory. Villaret gives a good estimate of the latest edition of the Rules as compared with the old.

> This time, also, the substance underwent no alteration; the essential principles, the grand lines of life, direction, spirit, activity, remained unchanged. Because of circumstances already mentioned, the newness came from the concrete applications, the extension and the preciseness of the activities, the introduction of apostolic techniques, the pointedness of the rules dealing with frequentation of the sacraments, the use of the Spiritual Exercises in closed retreats, the intellectual and professional formation of the sodalists, the highly charged and organized work of the apostolate of the press and others, the fight against the enemies of the Church and against error and immorality, the mutual relations among Sodalities. Substantially all this was to be found in the old rules, but now it was formulated in a more explicit, more precise, less affective perhaps more juridical manner.[60]

If it is true that the 1910 Rules differ from the previous editions mainly in their explicitness, concreteness, preciseness, and extensiveness, then it is equally true that these latest rules show the principles of the Spiritual Exercises more explicitly, concretely, precisely, and extensively.

Let us briefly take under consideration the four main principles of the Exercises as enunciated in Part I of this study.

The first principle, selection of only willing and intellectu-

---

[60] Villaret, *Abrégé*, 266-267.

ally capable men to act as leaders of the masses, is insured by Rules 23, 24, 26, 31, which provide for a stringent probation and for ways of expelling unworthy members.

The second principle, thinking and acting in union with the hierarchy—the ultimate end of the Exercises, is clearly stated in Rule 1 where the aim of all sodalists is declared to be the sanctification of self, the saving and sanctification of others, and the defence of the Church (notice how the Sodality has lifted her sights from the student milieu to that of the world-wide Church), in Rules 2, 15, 16, and 17 where the Sodality is clearly subject to the Bishops in the slightest detail, in Rules 22, 44, 49, and 50 where prompt obedience to director and his officers and of officers to the director is inculcated, and finally in Rule 33 where there is explicit stress on thinking and acting with the Church (evidently her Bishops if Rules 15, 16, and 17 are to mean anything).

The third principle of the Exercises, the choosing of a state of life or the perfecting of a previously chosen vocation—the proximate end of the Exercises, is exemplified in Rule 1 where sodalists work towards the sanctification of self and others each in his state of life," in Rules 4 and 29 where Sodalities are to be organized according to states of life so that emulation in and concentration on particular state-of-life ideals may be fostered, and in Rules 14 and 42 where special study academies and apostolic sections are formed to perfect the sodalist in his life's work—academies and sections in which he is under obligation to work if this is at all possible.

The fourth principle, use of definite means (fixed confessor, frequentation of the sacraments, mental prayer, examens, devotedness to the Mother of God) as a way of life leading towards the goals set up in principles two and three above, is carried out almost exactly as in the previous editions of the Rules, with the one exception that in Rule 39 daily Communion is urged strongly since Pius X had just a few years before recommended this practice.

Finally one may call attention to the fact that Rule 9 states that if the annual retreat cannot be a closed one, then the open rereat should "last six days, with at least two periods daily, morning and evening or night, with spiritual reading, medita-

tion, conferences, Holy Mass and beads as the principal exercises."[61]

There has been, therefore, rather striking progress made in concretizing the principles of the Exercises in the Sodality Rules. Further the closed retreat has been recommended strongly; while the open retreat has been extended to at least six days. It was no wonder, then, that the Rules of 1910 were welcomed warmly by the experienced and the successful among Sodality directors.

Background for Retreat-Rule of 1910

It is an axiom of social group thinking that the development of a social group's rules mirrors to a great extent its life. If the rules become not only more detailed but also more demanding in ideal, then the group's life while becoming more intricate is also becoming more successful in the attainment of its objectives. Thus, the more detailed retreat-rule of 1910 with its more demanding ideals of closed retreat or six-day open retreat reflects for us the inner life of at least the better Sodalities. Let us glance at the retreat emphasis in some of these better Sodalities.

The Sodality of Barcelona under the direction of Father Fiter began its magnificent work with a retreat which, repeated each year, animated this Sodality's highly organized apostolate of schools, retreat house, and recreation centers. Because this apostolate will be detailed later, it is sufficient for now to say that much of the groundwork for not only the retreat-rule of 1910 but even the whole revision of 1910 was done by the Spanish Sodalities under the leadership of Barcelona.[62] They had discovered in practice the marvelous effects of the annual Ignatian retreat on sodalists and they felt a great urge to see these effects spread throughout the world by means of the Sodality Common Rules.

The Cracow Sodalities were justly famous, also. After explaining in detail the numerous apostolic works of these Sodalities, ranging from St. Vincent de Paul activities and workingmen-lectures to the editing of a Sodality quarterly,

---

[61] *Sodality Rules*, The Common Rules of 1910, revised ed., St. Louis, 1943.

[62] Villaret, *Abrégé*, 265-266.

Fr. Drive says significantly: "It is unnecessary to add that they all made their annual retreat."[63]

In 1903, a year after the Cracow report, Mullan tells us that The Beyrouth workingmen made two fifteen day retreats a year, besides an eight day retreat at Easter, the Director very justly remarking: "The retreat is the principal nerve of the work." Similar is the report of the Valencia Children of Mary. This body has had a week's retreat each of the fifty years of its existence, with a morning and an afternoon meeting. The account adds: "We can truly say that to this annual retreat is due the prosperous life of the Sodality."[64]
Mullan also lists about fifteen outstanding retreats made at the turn of the century by Sodalities who seemed very intent on keeping their retreats annual.[65] Needless to say, most of these were open retreats.

But the closed retreat was far from neglected as the following report, drawn up by Father Mullan, indicates:

> Closed retreats are often made in our days by convent girls and by lady sodalists, who retire into a convent or other convenient house for the purpose. Thus the Lemberg Ladies' Sodality inaugurated their Sodality with a retreat made in the Sacred Heart Convent in 1896. The convent Children of Mary at Wexford, at Cork and at Dublin made theirs every year [1900]. An eight day retreat was annually made in the Strabane Convent [1903, Ireland]. In a similar way, a workingmen's Sodality in France had closed retreats for its members at a Trappist Monastery. At *Stella Viae*, Rome, the Children of Mary made a full closed retreat of six days, with 3 meditations and a conference daily, in 1909. Closed retreats for men sodalists were announced in the *Sodalen-Correspondenz* to be held at the retreat house in Feldkirch and to last three and a half days. That given at Stonyhurst to the Accrington Men's Sodality gathered 70 retreatants.[66]

The same convictions which produced retreats like these were also the motivating force behind the retreat-rule of 1910.

Yet these convictions were not found solely among Sodality directors. Experienced retreat masters and directors of retreat houses, seeing the need of some organization to insure the preservation and increase of the fruits derived from closed

---

[63] Drive, *Sodality Hist. Sk.*, 96.
[64] Mullan, *Sodality in Documents*, 137.
[65] *Ibid.*, 136-137.
[66] *Ibid.*, 137-138.

retreats, turned to the Sodality. Father Charles Plater, S.J., an influential apostle of the retreat movement in England and a careful student of its history, has this to say after describing a number of European retreat houses:

> It has been a matter of general experience that wherever retreats, however numerous and fervent, have not been followed up by some sort of organization for promoting the spiritual life of those who have made them, their effects had not been lasting. It stands to reason that the lessons of three days will be forgotten unless special provision is made for the recalling of them. Hence we are not surprised to find that in connection with nearly all retreat houses which have been described, there exist various types of sodality or confraternity for the purpose of keeping alive the spirit generated in the retreat.[67]

Lest one get the impression that Father Plater is indifferent as to what organization is used to secure the continuing efficacy of the retreat he should be allowed to add these remarks to what he has previously said:

> Mention has more than once been made of the part played by the Sodality of Our Lady in promoting the work of retreats in various countries. Something may here be added on the suitability of the Sodality as an organization for carrying on the spiritual work done in a retreat and for giving direction to the apostolic spirit which a retreat commonly generates. The Sodality, in fact, succeeds in forming that lay elite which, as experience shows, is the prerequisite for successful charitable and social work, no less than for the maintaining of a high standard of spiritual life in a parish. The Sodality is not, as some imagine, a mere confraternity of prayer for practicing a few simple devotions in common but rather a school of religious perfection for the laity. It thus forms a natural complement to the retreat, the influence of which it perpetuates and directs to every form of apostolic work.[68]

In his book, *Retreats for the People,* Father Plater gives striking examples which prove his statements. One of these would be the justly famous Sodalities of Mexico City whose closed retreats are an old tradition.[69] Perhaps this explains the heroic actions of the Mexican Sodalists during the persecution of 1926 when the Sodalities' "Retreat and Missions Section helped prepare the faithful for confession and communion, the missions being preached by the Sodalists themselves."[70]

---

[67] Plater, *Retreats,* 230-231.
[68] *Ibid.* 282-284.
[69] *Ibid.,* 163.
[70] Sommer, *Marian Cath. Act.,* 31-32.

All this was done when death was the reward for such efforts.

Thus we see that the retreat-rule of 1910 was a natural outgrowth of experimentation; for the need of retreats was proved not only in the experience of Sodality directors, working from the Sodality back to its source in the Exercises, but also in the experience of retreat directors working in the opposite direction from the Exercises towards the Sodality.

Retreats for Others Sponsored by Sodalists

To show how much sodalists appreciate the Spiritual Exercises and their effects, one has only to point to the fact that sodalists have been active down through the centuries in securing Ignatian retreats for others. We have already seen the Nobles' Sodalities obtaining Ignatian missions (and eventually Sodalities) for their servants. We have observed St. Francis de Sales, and St. Vincent de Paul using the Exercises, so much esteemed by themselves, to change the lay spirituality of the Church. At Caen as early as 1699 we find that one of the chief practices of the men's Sodality was to provide a Christmas retreat for twenty-five young girls and women who seemed in particular need of such help.[71] Mullan furnishes a list of such Sodality-sponsored retreats.

> Retreats were given by the Priests Sodality of Naples from 1612 on. The University Students Sodality of Liege provided closed retreats for men at the retreat house of Xhovémont. The Sodality of the Instituto Sociale of Turin provided a like favor for university students at a house of retreats (1905). The Chieri Sodality inaugurated retreats for workingmen (1907). The Roman College Scaletta gave their personal services in preparing the house and serving at table for a workingmen's retreat in Rome (1900). The Men's Sodality of Bucharest got up a men's mission (1896).[72]

About this same time in Sarriá, a suburb of Barcelona, a branch of the Sodality established a retreat-house and set up a committee to administer it. "In 1910 the house was enlarged and refitted. During the previous three years retreats had been given to over seven hundred men. This retreat-house is intended exclusively for the use of workingmen."[73] Thirty years later at Madrid a Sodality's retreat-promotion work was so successful that the diocese had to take over the

---

[71] Drive, *Sodality Hist. Sk.*, 70.
[72] Mullan, *Sodality in Documents*, 160.
[73] Plater, *Retreats*, 97-98.

too rapidly expanding work; during the first three years of its existence 289 retreats for about 10,000 retreatants were promoted.[74] And this was not the only Sodality which did such work in Spain.

Meanwhile in the New World similar events were taking place. For example, at Pittsburgh the Sodality union managed to sponsor twenty-one parish retreats or triduums in 1933.[75] A far more electrifying event occurred at São Paulo, Brazil from 1927 to the present time. It seems that the pre-Lenten Carnival there was particularly immoral and attracted large crowds from great distances. The Young Men's Sodality decided to do something about it. Going among the revelers, they tried to recruit for a closed retreat. Their courageous efforts netted 20 retreatants in 1927. They decided to make this an annual retreat and in 1928 70 people made the Exercises; in 1929 there were 82 retreatants. In 1930 the number dropped to 12, but in 1931 rose again to 130. In 1938 there were 4104 retreatants.[76] This is only one instance among a number of outstanding achievements in this field. Besides the sections of the Sodality dedicated to closed retreats, others are promoting open retreats for compact and homogeneous groups such as students, truck drivers, soldiers, intellectuals, and so on. Still other sections are organizing great urban retreats for the bishops; for example, at Alicante in 1946 twenty-eight preachers from six Orders gave the diocesan retreats in one program.[77]

It is impossible to explain the willing sacrifices made by sodalists to spread the influence of the Ignatian Exercises, unless it is said that their interest springs from a strong conviction that the Ignatian retreat is one of the most worthwhile things in their lives. A very clear example of this deeply felt need to radiate the Exercises once they are imbibed is the recently founded Sodality of Aachen (1953) which "grew out of the Spiritual Exercises" and whose aim is "to be always and in every way at the beck and call of the Bishop in the

---

[74] Hugo Rahner, S.J., *A la Source des Congrégations Mariales*, Bruxelles, 1954, Introduction, 11.

[75] Sr. Florence, S.L., *The Sodality Movement in the United States, 1926-1936*, St. Louis, 1939, 109.

[76] Villaret, *Abrégé*, 240-241.

[77] *Ibid.*, 241.

apostolate, but especially in promoting the Spiritual Exercises for young people."[78]

Ignatian Retreats and the Early Midwest

Passing over the fine Sodality traditions of other parts of the United States, we confine our attention here to the Midwest development of Sodality retreats when we consider the contributions of the United States' Sodalities to the world retreat movement and search for the effects of the Exercises in their members.

The first Midwestern Jesuit to use the Sodality as an instrument of sanctification and apostolate was Father Arnold Damen, S.J., who in 1848 started a Young Men's Sodality among the alumni of St. Louis University "to keep the old students of the University together and to preserve their faith."[79] Soon the organization contained 300 of the best known Catholics of St. Louis, many of them professional men. Their enthusiasm not only produced exemplary lives but also the return to the Church of not a few fallen away Catholics. The Sodality "grew to be a strong religious force in the city for fifty years. From it finally, as from a nucleus and model, grew all the other Sodalities of the city of St. Louis."[80] But Father Damen was not satisfied. Perceiving a small group of especially zealous young sodalists, he invited them one by one to come together and make a retreat, a closed one, at the college. Damen himself gave the Exercises. The result: "Four of them decided to enter the Society of Jesus. And all of them became permanent influences for good in the Catholic life of the city."[81] Father Conroy, Damen's biographer, goes on to say that this was apparently the first retreat of its kind in the West and that from it have come the West's retreat houses.

But Damen, who from 1857 to 1879 gave the Spiritual Exercises in 208 missions averaging two weeks in length and who made with his companion close to 12,000 converts, was not satisfied with just one Sodality. He frequently estab-

---

[78] "Nova Congregatio 'Cooperatorum' ", *Acies Ordinata*, Rome, vol. xxiii, 1954, 94-95.

[79] Joseph P. Conroy, S.J., *Arnold Damen, S.J.*, New York, 1930, 42.

[80] *Ibid.*

[81] *Ibid.*, 43.

lished them at the end of a mission in order to make sure that parish life would continue on at a high level.[82] Thus he tells us:

> I established there a Sodality of which the Bishop became spiritual director. It is composed of judges, lawyers, merchants, etc. These gentlemen, who have been absent from the Sacraments for ten, fifteen, twenty years, are now faithful in communicating every month in a body and are seen sweeping the church, to the wonder and edification of the whole city.[83]

Father Francis X. Weninger, S.J., another missionary, was asked to describe the techniques which had produced extraordinarily successful results. Among the hints he gave was this one:

> The solicitude to be exerted for the continuance of the fruit of the mission after it is closed, and the practical working of its effects I have minutely dwelt upon in the *Practical Hints*. To this end, the erection of Sodalities for the various classes in the parish help very efficaciously.[84]

Whether he realized it or not, Father Weninger was merely reiterating the advice and experience of Ignatius and his companions. He and Damen were also laying the foundation for a potentially great Sodality movement.

The U.S. National Sodality Service Center and Retreats

Just above it was said designedly "a potentially great Sodality movement," for by 1913 these first Sodalities seemed to have degenerated into mere monthly communion clubs.

> The investigation which Father Garesché made of the existing Sodalities disclosed "an extremely discouraging condition in the Sodalities themselves". All the activities of the Sodalists were confined in most places to attendance at meetings, where some prayers and the Office of the Blessed Virgin were recited, and to monthly Communions.[85]

Father Garesché, as the first national secretary of U. S. Sodalities, would certainly be in a position to estimate accurately the conditions of 1913 when he spoke. Clearly, there was no annual Sodality retreat if this was the total activity of Midwestern Sodalities; and clearly there was no activity

---

[82] *Ibid.*, 129.
[83] *Ibid.*, 92-93.
[84] Gilbert Garraghan, S.J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, New York, 1938, II, 59.
[85] Sommer, *Marian Cath. Act.*, 37.

because there was no annual retreat. Gradually, however, the National Secretariate at St. Louis tried to eliminate this discouraging state of affairs. Sister Florence, historian of the Sodality movement in the U. S. from 1926 to 1936 tells us that

> in addition to the handling of Sodality affiliation and the publishing of the Sodality magazine, the *Queen's Work* staff has maintained a policy of assisting Sodalities whenever possible through personal visits and correspondence. Each year since 1926 the Jesuit members of the staff have conducted an average of twenty-five retreats in parishes and schools throughout the country. In the course of the majority of these retreats the priests met the Sodality officers and discussed with them their Sodality problems. Thus to the innumerable advantages of the retreat were added definite helps for the sodalists as a group.[86]

So numerous were these retreats that in 1932 a priest was appointed to the *Queen's Work* staff solely for this work.[87]

Summer Schools of Catholic Action and the Exercises

At Loyola University in 1927 a particularly far-reaching result of an Ignatian retreat was the formation of the Students' Spiritual Council out of the school's Sodality officers. This Council called together "the first Student-Sodalist convention to be held in the United States, and it initiated a long series of such meetings, which have since been held in every quarter of the country."[88] Often enough for many a Sodalist these conventions were his first introduction to the Spiritual Exercises and their principles. The latter were taught in regular courses labled, for example, "Theology for the Layman." The Exercises were also imbibed indirectly through motivation talks or through instructional lectures on the methods of mental prayer, the night examen, the particular examen (known as the "Character Builder"), and so on. Since these conventions, later developing into the Summer Schools of Catholic Action, were staffed principally by Jesuits, they have done very much toward spreading Ignatian spirituality, which is just another way of saying the principles of the Exercises. Perhaps this is why the Summer Schools have attained a measure of success and why slowly but surely the

---

[86] Sr. Florence, *Sodality U.S. 1926-1936,* 144.
[87] *Ibid.,* 151.
[88] *Ibid.,* 44, also cf. 42-43.

Sodality movement in the U. S. A. has begun to gather momentum.

Growth of Retreat Consciousness

Frequently retreats are directly mentioned in, e.g., the list of activities sponsored by the Student Spiritual Leadership Movement of the Sodality,[89] or the list of parish activities,[90] or the discussion at the Men Directors' Convention.[91] One such discussion at the National Sodalist Parish Convention in 1930 is indicative of what was being done by Sodalities in retreat work.

> The general subject for the afternoon was personal holiness. The subject was opened by a discussion of the importance of retreats. Mrs. E. P. Voll of St. Louis urged closed retreats, as did Miss Isabel Fogarty of Springfield, Ill., speaking especially for the Cenacle retreats. Miss Gallagher pointed out that the Bishop of Toledo felt the retreat so important that he has turned over retreat work to the Sodality as their most important diocesan enterprise.[92]

To appreciate the effects of this gradual growth in retreat consciousness among American Sodalists, let us consider some of the latest developments in retreat work. An example of this would be the John Carroll University Alumni Sodality. One of its sodalists, after listing in a report an impressive number of apostolic and spiritual works, says, "Probably the most effective activity that resulted in real spiritual growth of the Sodality was the six day closed retreat we held at Christmastide and which we intend to make an annual affair.[93] Six months later in June of 1953, because of this example, seventy-five sodalists from Carroll's Student Sodality made an eight day retreat (closed) on the campus.[94] Meanwhile at Detroit University in August of 1953, seventy-five more sodalists, inspired by Carroll's Sodalities, made closed retreats of six days.[95] So impressed were they with the Exercises that several of the Carroll Sodalists asked to make the long retreat

---

[89] *Ibid.*, 66.
[90] *Ibid.*, 91.
[91] *Ibid.*, 128.
[92] *Ibid.*, 116.
[93] Sommer, *Mar. Cath. Act.*, 50.
[94] "John Carroll University", *Chicago Province Chronicle*, 1953, XVIII, no. 1, 6.
[95] "University of Detroit", *Chi. Prov. Chron.*, 1953, XVIII, no. 1, 9.

of thirty days.[96] That this was no passing enthusiasm is proved by the fact that these same retreats were given in 1954 and 1955 to a larger number of retreatants.[97]

Father Richard Rooney, S.J., Director of the National Sodality Service Center in St. Louis, gives an overall view of U. S. Sodality retreats when he states:

> It is encouraging to learn from reports sent to this office that the popularity and effectiveness of closed retreats for sodalists is on the increase. In at least a half dozen Jesuit colleges and universities, not to mention a number of nursing schools, retreats of this sort are being conducted yearly in accord with Rule 9 and Rule 7. They run from three to five to eight days' duration. Of one thing we at the NSSC are convinced: the renewal of spirit called for by His Holiness will certainly come to those Sodalities who drink long and deeply each year at the spring of the Spiritual Exercises.[98]

We see, then that though the fine work of Damen and Weninger had gradually lost its vigor, the staff of the Sodality Service Center did much to restore life to it. One of the most efficient instruments used to accomplish this feat was the Spiritual Exercises. As a result a few of the leading Sodalities are conducting spiritual and apostolic programs worthy of the great Sodalities of the pre-Suppression Society of Jesus, the six and eight day closed retreats being proof of this.

The Barcelona Sodality's Retreat Work

In Europe a modern Sodality outstanding for its retreat work is that of Barcelona. Because of the Suppression of the Jesuits the ancient Sodality of Barcelona, like so many others at that time, had simply disappeared. It was revived, however, in 1860 under directors who, in addition to the Sodality, were saddled with much other work. Consequently the meetings "were composed more of old men than of youths,"[99] and "the Sodality did no more than hear Mass and chant the Little Office."[100] This went on until 1886 when Father Aloysius

---

[96] Rahner, *Source de Cong. Mar., introduction,* 10.

[97] "University of Detroit", *Chi. Prov. Chron.* 1954, XIX, no. 1, 14; "John Carroll University," 1954, XVIII, no. 5, 58; "Univ. of Detroit", 1955, XIX, no. 6, 86; "Jn. Car. Univ.", 1955, XIX, no. 5, 61.

[98] "Bits of News", *Action Now, Queens Work Press,* VIII, no. 7, April, 1955, 61.

[99] Ramund Amato, S.J., *Aloysius Ignatius Fiter,* trans. Elder Mullan, S.J., St. Louis, 1917, 72.

[100] *Ibid.,* 73.

Ignatius Fiter took charge. His first step was to ask for complete freedom from other work in order that a genuine Sodality might be formed. When this generous permission was received, he speedily set to work. His day-by-day journal reads: "The membership list has been published for the first time. Also, the Spiritual Exercises have been given. Finally, everything indicates that the Sodality is going to have a notable and important development."[101]

Though the early Barcelona Sodality retreats do not seem to have been of the closed type, still they were gradually perfected year by year, e.g., after the first two years the retreat was reserved for sodalists only, the Sodality candidates received special instructions during the retreat,[102] and the finest retreat masters were brought in even from great distances.[103] Father Sommer in his *Marian Catholic Action*, after describing the manifold apostolic works of this Sodality, tells us that there is an annual retreat to power all this activity.[104] Since he writes of conditions in the year 1951 as representing a tradition of long standing, we can safely say that the annual retreat has been a fixture in the Barcelona Sodality since the time of Father Fiter.

Now here are the results of this loyalty to the principle that the Ignatian retreat is the heart of Sodality life: first, an amazingly variegated and fertile apostolate composed of workers' centers, two catechetical teams, an evening school for adult workers, a day school for children, three teams of hospital visitors (one hospital being a leper asylum), a press apostolate, a municipal center for the poor, two recreation centers for young workers;[105] second, a retreat house, staffed by the Sodality, which in three years has given retreats to 700 working men;[106] third, a religious community of working men formed out of workingmen sodalists. These religious wear no habit, but, living in common and taking the usual three vows, devote three hours per day to prayer in addition to their usual working hours in the factories and in addition

---

[101] *Ibid.*, 82.
[102] *Ibid.*
[103] *Ibid.*, 131.
[104] Sommer, *Marian Cath. Act.*, 24.
[105] Villaret, *Cong. Mar.*, 235.
[106] Plater, *Retreats*, 97-98.

to the hours they consecrate to retreats for workingmen, courses on social topics, apologetics and just plain school work.[107] Such magnificent work forces us to seek out its cause and the cause is the same one found in all great Sodalities: the Ignatian Exercises motivating all.

World-wide Sodality Consciousness of Exercises

It would seem that this conviction of the Sodality's basic need of the *Exercises* is taking form in the minds of directors all over the world. We have seen this happening in the United States on the college level, in particular at John Carroll and Detroit Universities, and even on the high school level as at Loyola Academy in Chicago where a five day closed retreat was given to 35 upperclass sodalists in the past two years.[108] In Spain at Hogar del Obero, sodalists are required to make a four day closed retreat. At Hogar del Empleado all members make a four day closed retreat their first year and a six or eight day one their second year. Officers' Military Academy of Seville has a four day closed retreat annually. Bilbao High School Sodality has five full days of closed retreat for all sodalists over 14 years of age. In Italy the Professional Men's Sodality of Milan requires all sodalists to make a three day closed retreat, but some make six and eight day ones.[109] Significantly enough when Fr. Joseph Sommer, S.J., of the U.S.A.'s National Sodality Service Center went to England for a three month tour of English Sodality organizations, he gave four three day closed retreats to sodalists amid all his other work of conferences and organizational meetings. The English sodalists and their directors wanted this. Such growing world-wide enthusiasm for the Exercises among sodalists points to the fact that they have found the principal source of their spirituality and apostolate and intend to use it now to the best of their ability.

---

[107] Sommer, *Marian Cath. Act.*, 27.

[108] "Loyola Academy", *Chi. Prov. Chron.*, 1954, XVIII, no. 4, 42; 1955, XIX, no. 5, 62.

[109] Nicholas Rieman, S.J., "Sodality and Retreat: The Perfect Pair", *Direction*, series of articles beginning in II, no. 2, 1955, Nov.; author's manuscript was consulted before its publication.

Conclusions

From the historical events we have just witnessed a number of conclusions should be drawn. First of all, if the supression of the Society of Jesus proved nothing else, it at least demonstrated that the Sodality needs the Society of Jesus and the Exercises just as much as any effect needs its proper cause in order to exist. The fact that some few Suppression-era Sodalities were successful because of very saintly directors, some of them former Jesuits, does not mean that this causal relationship is an overstatement of the case. These Sodalities were the rare exception, not the rule, and their total power was pitifully weak compared to that of the 2000 Sodalities existing at the Society's suppression. This conclusion that there is an almost inexorable relationship of cause and effect between the Society and the Spiritual Exercises on the one hand and the success of the Sodality on the other throws a fearfully heavy responsibility upon the shoulders of many a mid-twentieth century Jesuit and not just on the back of the few Sodality directors.

On looking back over Sodality legislation since its founding a second conclusion stands out: though the Sodality Common Rules of 1587 showed forth the principles of the Spiritual Exercises and the Rules of 1855 showed them even more clearly, it was the Rules of 1910 that most sharply etched them for the sodalist. In addition, there was a progression in the explicit mention of a retreat for sodalists. The Rules of 1587 allowed local prescriptions to make this demand. The Rules of 1855 specified an annual open retreat of three or four days. Those of 1910 stipulated an annual open retreat of at least six days and suggested a closed one if this was at all possible.

A third conclusion to be drawn from the era extending from 1773 to 1955 is that the progressive awareness of the Exercises and their principles was not merely induced into the Sodality by Roman legislators, but rather arose from the convictions and needs of the sodalists themselves and of their directors. Apparently the "restored" Jesuits, gazing upon the sick body of the Sodality, saw only one way of reviving her: fill her with the life-giving vigor of the Ignatian Exer-

cises. This was done at once in Europe through the establishment of Sodalities in every little town and city immediately after the giving of an Ignatian mission, the First Week of the Exercises. Under this impetus the Sodality, now a world-wide organization not limited to the Jesuits, began to grow quickly. Perhaps it grew too quickly, for continuity of direction is needed if the Sodality is to have a vigorous life and this direction must be the type derived from the principles of the Exercises.

At any rate, despite the overwhelming handicap of not having seasoned directors, a number of Sodalities discovered this principle of their life and became so dedicated to the annual retreat, often enough closed, that from their enthusiasm and hard work there came the retreat Rule of 1910 demanding at least an annual open retreat of six days and suggesting a closed one. And not only Sodality directors were aware of the close causal connection between the life of the Sodality and the Exercises; retreat masters and directors of retreat houses, working at the other end of this relationship, had come to the same conclusion and were loyal supporters of the Sodality. But the best proof for the Sodality's growing appreciation of the power of the Exercises is its arranging of retreats for others—a work involving thousands of retreatants.

Promotion of the principles of the Exercises in the U.S.A. through Summer Schools of Catholic Action and retreats under the aegis of the National Sodality Service Center at St. Louis, is a good example of how the Exercises have been traditionally brought to the minds of American Sodalists. A proof that the latter have gradually come to esteem the Exercises is seen in the growing interest in closed retreats of five or six or eight days among college students. But Europe affords the best example of sodalist-appreciation of the Exercises in its Barcelona Sodality where the annual retreat has produced not only an astoundingly rich apostolate but also a retreat house and a religious community of men dedicated to spreading the retreat movement and Ignatian principles among the working classes. And Barcelona is not alone in this. Father Rooney tells us:

> Two young Jesuits travelled through Europe last year to make a study of the Sodalities there. When they got back here and got together to compare notes they found that there were two common denominators of the outstandingly genuine organizations they had come across. The first of these was faithfulness to the annual retreat, to the annual passage through the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, and this for from three to eight days. The second was the carry-on of these Exercises by daily faithfulness to mental prayer.[110]

Never, since the suppression of the Society of Jesus, has there been such a flourishing of the Spiritual Exercises among Sodalities; and, it must be said, never has there been such a need of this. For, granted that the Sodality movement has never been bigger, it must also be added that "the Sodalities of our days, so far as many Christians are concerned, evoke nothing more than the very pale image of a pious prayer-league reserved especially for women."[111] It is true that there are a number of Sodalities which compare favorably with the eighteenth-century Sodalities, but they are very few when contrasted with the vast number affiliated with the *Prima Primaria.* It is these few which are the hope of the Sodality, for as Father Hugo Rahner tells us:

> If the Marian Sodalities have kept their importance and their utility in the Church, it is because in the course of four centuries of existence and of an almost disquieting numerical expansion they have made it their constant care to go back to their life-source, the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius.[112]

Indeed, it is because of the loyalty of these few great modern Sodalities to their life-principle, the Exercises, that the retreat rule of 1910 was at all possible and that Pius XII could say in all truth: "In reality, the Rules of the Sodality are concerned only with expressing in clear formulas, and, so to speak, with codifying the way of life which she has raised to honor all through her history and in today's activities.[113]

If the modern Sodality is ever to recapture the eighteenth-century Sodality spirit which made the pre-Suppression Sodalities such potent forces for good within the Church and

---

[110] "Make Your Retreat", *Action Now*, VIII, no. 6, March, 1955, 14.
[111] Rahner, *Source des Cong. Mar.*, 19.
[112] *Ibid.*, introduction, 5.
[113] *Ibid.*, 21, Allocution of Pius XII, Jan. 21, 1945.

the number one target of her enemies, she will have to live her Rules with a heroism equaling that of the Old Sodality. But she will never do this unless she understands them deeply and feels with overwhelming force the need to live them to the hilt. This understanding and feeling will never come until the Sodality understands fully and is motivated deeply by the principles of the Spiritual Exercises. And where are these principles best learned but in the annual retreat? As the Belgian Secretariate of the Sodality has said, "After all this, is it not clear that the very first secret in revitalizing the Marian Sodality is a return to her life-principle, the authentic Spiritual Exercises?"[114]

[114] *Ibid.*, introduction, 12.

SACRED HEART RETREAT HOUSE, AURIESVILLE, NEW YORK

REPORT OF PRIESTS' RETREATS FOR 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956

	1953	1954	1955	1956
Number of 8 Day Retreats	2	2	1	1
Number of 8 Day Retreatants	20	24	20	14
Number of 5 Day Retreats	25	25	29	23
Number of 5 Day Retreatants	383	413	472	488
Number of 4 Day Retreats	——	——	——	6
Number of 4 Day Retreatants	——	——	——	89
Total Number of Retreats	28	27	30	30
Total Number of Retreatants	403	437	492	591
Number of Cancellations	——	——	——	45
Number of Dioceses Represented	45	51	56	61
Number of Religious Orders and Congregations	25	25	23	27
Members of the Hierarchy (Retreatants)	5	5	12	7
Number of Repeaters	213	220	295	319
Number of New Retreatants	190	217	197	272

Ignatius Loyola and the Counter Reformation

Edward A. Ryan, S.J.

There is a saying of Ignatius Loyola which might well serve as a subtitle for this lecture. Often it is expressed in the form given it by Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, "We must work as if all depended on us, and pray as if all depended on God." Actually Ignatius expressed his thought in the following words, "In matters pertaining to God's holy service we should use every possible good means, but then put all our confidence in God and not in the means." Another and perhaps clearer form of the same idea in Ignatius' own words is, "I hold it an error to confide and trust in any means or in human efforts in themselves alone; and I do not consider it safe to commit the whole affair to God our Lord without trying to make use of what He has given me. Indeed it seems to me in our Lord that I must use both these parts desiring in all things His greater glory and nothing else." We shall see at the end of our study just how Ignatius' thought should be applied in the present instance.[1]

Catholic Reform and Counter-Reformation

My title could be understood in various ways. "Ignatius Loyola" is a constant but "Counter-Reformation" can be defined in more than one way. For a long period it was applied to the whole movement of adaptation by which the Catholic Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries endeavored to meet not only the threat of Protestantism but also the challenges of the Renaissance, of modern science, and of the problems arising from the geographical discoveries of Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus. It is in fact so

---

This paper was one of a series read at Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, during the Ignatian Year.

[1] W. Elliott, *Life of Father Hecker* (New York, 1894). On p. XIII we have Archbishop Ireland's remark. It is not attributed to St. Ignatius. For a discussion of this dictum see *Woodstock Letters*, 71 (1942), 69-72, 195-199.

understood in the article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia. Gegenreformation,* the German equivalent of Counter-Reformation, is a term created by non-Catholic historians who considered that the history of the sixteenth century Church was conditioned by the Protestant revolt. They had to admit that the Church was partially victorious but in their minds it was a victory of the politically superior papacy over an unpolitical Lutheranism and a politically isolated Calvinism. In addition many historians feel that the Counter-Reformation was responsible for all that shocks them in modern Catholicism: hidalgoism or contempt for the poor, rejection of true humanism and modern science, search for effect at the expense of depth, illusions of grandeur, use of the Church by the state for its own purposes; not to mention the Inquisition, the Index of Forbidden Books, the burning of heretics and witches, the massacres of innocent Protestants, and the shameless treatment of Jews, Moors and Indians. To term Ignatius a hero of the Counter-Reformation, so understood, would certainly not be to praise him.[2]

Catholic historians reject this conception and brand it a product of confessional prejudice. For them the renewal of the Church in the sixteenth century came from inner sources of religious strength. Protestant Reformation is a misnomer. The movement should be styled the Protestant Revolt. The true reform was that of the Catholic Church and it was not a mere reaction to Luther and Calvin. It did not consist essentially in the forcing of consciences and in the triumph of politics over the spirit. Rather it was an independent religious revival of elemental power, one of the strongest in the history of the world. As a matter of fact some non-Catholic historians led the way in clearing up the confusion by their studies on the Catholic Reform.[3] At the present time most historians have come to admit the justice of the Catholic claims, at least in part. Research has clearly shown that the Catholic Reform antedated the Protestant Reformation and was much wider in scope. As a result it has been considered either as a return to primitive Christianity or as the appear-

---

[2] H. Jedin, *Katholische Reformation oder Gegenreformation?* (Luzern, 1946), 9.

[3] Jedin, *op. cit.,* 11 ff.

ance of a more modern, more personal form of Catholicism. From an external viewpoint, history makes it clear that the Catholic Church which was everywhere losing territory to Protestantism up to *circa* 1550 was winning back considerable portions of the lost ground by the end of the century. Not only did Protestantism not win all of Europe, it never won the major part. To this day there are more Catholics than Protestants in Europe; and that despite the Industrial Revolution which increased the population of the Protestant North far more than the Catholic South.[4] From historians, Ignatius and the Jesuits receive a great deal of credit for stopping and rolling back Protestantism. We, of course, are concerned only with Ignatius in this paper. The importance and the durability of the Protestant movement must have been quite unknown to him. That his sons were destined to engage in a long and, at times, bitter struggle with the disciples of Luther and Calvin he could not forsee. That the sects arising in his day would still be strong four hundred years later would probably have seemed a fantastic assumption to him.

Ludwig von Pastor, the historian of the modern papacy, rejected the term "Counter-Reformation" and won for the term "Catholic Reform" general acceptance. At the same time he added and popularized another term "Catholic Restoration". For Pastor the inner regeneration of the Church in the sixteenth century was the Catholic Reform, whereas the reëstablishment of the Church in regions where it had been wiped out or imperiled was the Catholic Restoration. He puts the turn from Catholic Reform to Catholic Restoration about 1575, a score of years after the death of Loyola. For Pastor the two movements progress side by side until about 1625 when for a time the Catholic Restoration dominates.[5] Since the term "Catholic Restoration" is in many respects the equivalent of "Counter-Reformation", we see that Ignatius was, for Pastor, a precursor of the Counter-Reformation. As a Catholic Reformer he is, on the contrary,

---

[4] *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* VIII (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1936), 791.

[5] H. Jedin, *op. cit.*, 16 ff. It will be recalled that the failure of the Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-1637) to maintain Catholic preponderance led to the Peace of Westphalia and confessional truce.

one of the most prominent and, while not among the earliest, the one whose technique of beginning reform with the individual, marks him out as having given the impulse which led to the genuine inner renewal of the Church. It is not my purpose to study Ignatius as a Catholic Reformer in this essay. I limit myself to Ignatius as a Catholic Counter-Reformer, i.e., as an opponent of Protestantism. It must be noted, however, that any effort to separate completely the two qualities in Ignatius, or in anyone else, would be artificial and misleading. The reader must expect mention of much that was positive and interior to Catholicism. Indeed, most of what Ignatius did to stop Protestantism was positive in the sense that he worked to bolster up the faith of hesitating Catholics.

Founded to Combat Protestantism?

At the outset of our study we have to consider the statement often made that Ignatius founded his Order to combat Protestantism, indeed to wipe it out. If this means that the Society of Jesus was instituted to safeguard and propagate the Catholic Church, and as a consequence to defend it against opposing doctrines, it would be true that the Society was founded against Protestantism which is obviously a doctrine opposed to Catholic teaching. But in this sense the charge is vague. The Society could be said to have been founded to combat any heterodox views. If, on the contrary, this thesis is understood in the sense that Ignatius, when he founded his Order, had Protestantism in mind either solely or in a specific way, it is certainly false. There is no mention of any such purpose in the documents which contain the fundamental charter of the Order, the bulls of Paul III and Julius III of September 27, 1540 and July 21, 1550 respectively. In them it is asserted that the end of the Society is the defense and propagation of the faith and the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine by preaching, teaching, retreats, catechetical instructions, by hearing confessions and administering the other Sacraments and by charitable works.[6] In the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* there is no mention

[6] *Societatis Iesu Constitutiones et Epitome Instituti* (Rome, 1949), 9.

of Protestantism when the end of the Society is discussed or in any other connection. Protestantism is mentioned in the six or seven thousand letters of Ignatius and in the *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* of Juan Polanco which is based on them. But rather infrequently. When speaking of the end of his Society in his letters, Ignatius never mentions Protestantism.[7] When Ignatius died in 1556 most of his followers were in Italy and Spain. There were three Italian provinces at that time and three in Spain. In addition Portugal and France had one each and there were two overseas in Brazil and India. Germany had two. In his last years accordingly Ignatius was concerned with Germany and with Protestantism. It cannot be said, however, that they occupied the principal position in his solicitude. Of the 1157 letters signed by Ignatius between July 1555 and July 1556, only seventy-four went to Germany, far less than ten per cent.[8]

The Roman Breviary, it is true, states that just as God raised up other holy men in other crises to oppose heresy, so He raised up Ignatius to oppose Luther and the other heretics of the sixteenth century. But the Breviary also lists other activities of Ignatius. The mention of Luther comes after it has been recalled that Ignatius sent Xavier and other missionaries to evangelize the heathen. Later on the Breviary speaks of Ignatius' efforts to advance the religious life among Catholics. This last is characterized as the most important of his endeavors. So if we take the lessons of the Breviary in their entirety, we find that they do not in any way contradict the facts we have established.[9]

Early Contacts with Protestantism

We now turn from these general considerations to the actual contacts which Ignatius had with heresy. They came late in life and were for the most part indirect. In the Spain in which Loyola grew up fidelity to the Catholic faith was taken for granted. For every good Spaniard abandonment of the Catholic religion was treason, a crime against the

---

[7] B. Duhr, *Jesuiten-Fabeln* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1899), 2 ff.

[8] *Stimmen der Zeit* 156 (1936), 242.

[9] "Sed in primis inter Catholicos instaurare pietatem curae fuit." Lectio VI.

state as well as the Church. Having won back their country from Islam at the cost of much blood, it was natural for Spaniards to look upon enemies of religion as enemies of the established order. They recognized not only the right but the duty of their sovereigns to defend the faith with the sword. Moral disorders were not lacking in the peninsula but the faith was strong and the Inquisition was destined rigidly to maintain religious unity in the country. The suspicions aroused in Alcalá and Salamanca by the Exercises of Ignatius show clearly enough what meticulous care was taken to maintain the faith in Spain even before the Protestant peril was imminent. At the Spanish universities Ignatius was taken for an *alumbrado* or an Erasmian rather than a Protestant.

In Paris it would have been easier for Loyola to make contact with Protestants and Protestantism, had he so desired. Luther's pamphlets were being circulated in Latin translations. John Calvin was a fellow student at the University. But as Ignatius bore witness, he never frequented *alumbrados*, schismatics or Lutherans. He did not know them.[10] No doubt he heard how certain sectaries had outraged Catholic feeling in Paris, while he was there, by smashing a statue of the Madonna, and by posting at night insulting placards against the Mass. There is even some reason for thinking that Xavier frequented circles in which Lutheran ideas were aired but such gatherings were not for Ignatius, nor for Francis Xavier once he had come under the influence of Loyola.[11]

It was as founder and general of the Society of Jesus that Ignatius first came into contact with Protestantism, and that indirectly. This was not long after the time when the Roman authorities began seriously to occupy themselves with the novelties which had swept Germany away from its religious moorings. It is true that Leo X had condemned Luther's doctrine as early as 1520 and excommunicated him the following year, but both in Rome and Germany many refused to take the movement seriously, terming it a quarrel among monks. We should not blame the Roman officials too much. They were accustomed to disputes and squabbles. There are

---

[10] A. Favre-Dorsaz, *Calvin et Loyola* (Brussels, 1948), 111 f.

[11] J. Brodrick. *St. Francis Xavier* (New York, 1952), 32.

in the world thousands of storms every day. Not many of them develop into hurricanes. Rome was inclined to think that the Protestant crisis would blow over. When, however, Paul III became pope in 1534 he called the Nuncio Pietro Paulo Vergerio from Vienna to obtain firsthand information on the situation in Germany. Vergerio, who was later to go over to Protestantism, was astonished at the ignorance of the Roman curia on the matter. His reports induced the careful and farsighted Paul III to take up the struggle in a systematic way. It was Paul III who first orientated the Society of Jesus, which in 1540 he approved, in the direction of Germany.

The Battle is Joined

The early Jesuits found evidence of Protestant workings in Italy, France, and even south of the Pyrenees but it was in Germany that in those days the real battle was being waged. The greater part of Germany, some say, not without exaggeration, nine-tenths of the population of the German-speaking countries, was lost to the Church. Ignatius was twenty-six when Luther raised the flag of rebellion (1517). Four years later came the conversion of Ignatius. But nearly twenty years were to pass between that event and the arrival in the person of Peter Faber of the first Jesuit opponent in Germany of the new teaching. During those decades priests and religious had abandoned the Church in droves. Many German princes had taken advantage of the turn of affairs to confiscate Church property, and German humanists were rejoicing in what they termed the breaking of slavery's chains. Isolated priests and religious remained faithful to the Church. More women than men religious were true to their principles. But the movement engulfed them. It was as if the earth had swallowed up the army of monks and priests who a few years earlier had led the German Church. In reality they had not been swallowed up. They had become Lutherans, had married and were busy propagating their errors.[12]

At the beginning of 1540, the Nuncio Giovanni Morone

---

[12] B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907), I, 2.

reported that the religious situation worsened hourly, that the authority of the pope declined visibly and lacked all support. Germans thought it useless to look to Rome for help. Yet it was from Rome that assistance was to come. Of old, Rome had sent the Anglo-Saxon, St. Boniface, to evangelize the heathen and organize the German Church. In the sixteenth century too, at the word of the Vicar of Christ, Ignatius Loyola sent some of the first Jesuits to Germany where they were to play a notable role in stemming and eventually turning the tide of revolt. "That Germany remained true to the Universal Church and to her own past," writes a modern Catholic historian, "was due for the most part to the Society of Jesus."[13]

In the 1540's the Jesuits were but a handful and Ignatius could have used all his men to advantage in Spain and Italy, not to mention the foreign missions. But late in 1541 Peter Faber, at the word of Paul III, accompanied the ambassador of Charles V to Germany, where at Worms and later at Regensburg, he began to preach, hear confessions and give the Spiritual Exercises. Johann Cochlaeus, distinguished humanist and opponent of Luther, was one of those to make the Exercises. He rejoiced that "masters of the feelings" had appeared.[14]

Faber had to leave Germany in 1541 but during his absence he continued to pray for Luther and Melanchthon. Not long afterwards he was back working in the Rhenish cities. One April day in 1543, young Peter Kanis, now known as St. Peter Canisius, Confessor and Doctor of the Church, came down from Cologne to Mainz to keep a rendevous with Divine Providence. He made the Exercises under the skilled direction of Faber and soon entered the Society, the first German Jesuit. Faber, aided by Canisius and others, continued to labor, particularly at Cologne, which at the time was in grave danger

---

[13] K. Eder, *Die Geschichte der Kirche im Zeitalter des konfessionellen Absolutismus* (Wien, 1949), 76: "Wenn Deutschland den Zusammenhang mit der Grosskirche und mit seiner eigenen Vergangenheit wahrte, so ist das zum grössten Teil das Verdienst der Gesellschaft Jesu."

[14] *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* I, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* I, (Madrid, 1894), 93: "Gaudere se diceret quod magistri circa affectus invenirentur."

of being lost to the Church. He left Germany in 1544 and died two years later. As is clear from his celebrated *Memoriale,* Faber worked in Germany in a spirit of mildness and charity. There was nothing of the heresy-hunter about him. Rather he relied on prayer for the dissidents and on instructions given in a spirit of love and kindness. He bequeathed this spirit to his disciple, Peter Canisius. Forty years after Faber's death, Canisius still recalled him as the model of spiritual workmen, "Not an eloquent preacher, but very devoted to God and the saints; while he lived, a marvellously efficient fisher of men."[15]

Ignatius sent other eminent men to Germany. Claude Lejay, like Faber a Savoyard, followed his countryman to Germany. At Regensburg he found heresy strong, and when his opponents threatened to throw him into the Danube, he cheerfully replied that one could go to heaven as easily by water as by land. Expelled from Regensburg, he travelled to Ingolstadt, Dillingen, Worms. Sickened at the sight of the defections from the faith, he was amazed that the countries remaining Catholic did so little for Germany. After attending the Council of Trent, Lejay returned to Germany in 1549 with Canisius and Salmeron to take a post as professor at the University of Ingolstadt. A few years later he was engaged in the foundation of a Jesuit college at Vienna when death claimed him. Lejay, who was loved and esteemed by the Catholic Germans, labored effectively for the faith in Germany in an hour of desperate need and he did much to advance the credit of the Society there.[16]

The third of the original group of Jesuits to labor in Germany was Nicholas Bobadilla. His six years north of the Alps were a series of mishaps. On one occasion he was robbed of his very shirt by bandits and on another nearly killed while performing the duties of an army chaplain. But he fell into disgrace when he wrote against the Emperor and was summarily conducted to the frontier and expelled from the Empire. Bobadilla caused the superiors of the early So-

---

[15] "Non dissertus orator sed erga Deum et sanctos dum viveret devotus precator et piscator hominum mire fructuosus." O. Braunsberger, *B. P. Canisii Epistulae et Acta* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 19) VIII, 119.

[16] Duhr, *Geschichte,* I, 15 ff.

ciety more than one heartache. It is doubtful, however, if anything this able but erratic man did grieved them more than the reputation which he made for himself in Germany. The fact that he was a good theologian and preacher did not balance in Ignatius' mind the lack of judgment and steadiness. It is true that Bobadilla did not like Germany and could not feel at home there. His attack on the Interim of 1548 can be explained and perhaps defended. At any rate it won for Bobadilla a more expeditious return to his beloved Italy than he could have foreseen.[17]

The first efforts, therefore, made by Ignatius through his disciples to save Germany consisted in direct exercise of the sacred ministry. Faber, Lejay, Bobadilla and their helpers preached, heard confessions and gave the Exercises. By persuasion they tried to stem the tide of Protestantism. We find them now here, now there, never long in any one place. This was the original plan of Ignatius: to go, as circumstances and obedience determined, from place to place, ever intent on the interests of Christ and His Church. If the Protestant Revolt had not come to disrupt religious unity in Europe, this plan might have been continued. But experience amidst the actual conditions of the century showed that some kind of continuous action was necessary at least in Germany. If a line was to be established and held against Protestantism, centers had to be formed. According to Lejay and Canisius, the German bishops and princes saw in colleges and universities the principal means for the preservation of the faith and the revival of Catholic life. As late as 1546, Ignatius and most of his early companions were against the establishment of Jesuit colleges even for the training of young Jesuits. But Ignatius learned from events in Portugal, Spain and Sicily as well as in Germany that the colleges which James Lainez, one of his ablest sons and destined to be his successor as general, was advocating, were a necessity. The initial steps taken at Coimbra in Portugal, Gandia in Spain and Messina in Sicily paved the way for the foundation of colleges in Germany.[18]

In 1549 Ignatius sent, as we mentioned above, Lejay, Sal-

[17] *Ibid.*, 24 ff.
[18] *Ibid.*, 33 ff.

meron and Peter Canisius to the University of Ingolstadt as professors. Their lectures, however, were mainly to empty benches: they had fourteen pupils of whom only four were prepared for instruction on university level. Ignatius, disappointed in his desire to have a foundation for a college in which Jesuits could also be formed had drawn all three out of Ingolstadt by 1552. He had other work for them to do. The first Jesuit effort to better the educational situation in Catholic Germany had resulted in failure.[19]

In 1550 Ferdinand I had asked Ignatius for Lejay to found a college in Vienna. Here success was swift. Lejay arrived in 1551, to be followed in 1552 by Canisius and others to the number of a score or more. By 1554 there were three hundred students in the College of Vienna and by 1556 four hundred. One bastion of the Counter-Reformation and Catholic Reform had been established on German soil.[20]

Authentic Spirit

At the other end of the future German Catholic line lay Cologne, which, as we have mentioned, was within an ace of falling into the Protestant camp since the Archbishop Hermann von Wied was known to be seeking an opportunity to apostatize and go over to Lutheranism. The Prior of the Carthusians at Cologne, Gerard Kalckbrenner, wrote to Ignatius that the situation was hopeless and that the friends of Christ should, according to the prophecy of St. Brigid of Sweden, abandon the West and go to the lands of the heathen. Although he esteemed Kalckbrenner, Ignatius was not a defeatist. According to the proverb, it is the first blow that breaks the vase. To crush the fragments is of little importance. Loyola saw things in a different way. He wanted to save the pieces. Or rather, perhaps, he recalled that Christ had prayed *ut sint unum* (John 17, 11) and that such a prayer must be answered. Those who jumped overboard from the bark of Peter did not disrupt the unity of the boat; they merely drowned themselves. Ignatius was willing to admit that every effort should be made to help the pagans. He himself was doing so through Francis Xavier and his other

[19] *Ibid.*, 53 ff.
[20] *Ibid.*, 45 ff.

missionary sons. But equal efforts by prayer, word, example and every available means should be made to help the faltering West. Ignatius was determined to do so even though he felt himself a worthless instrument of the divine wisdom. He had many Jesuits and in the German College he had about fifty men who would soon be ready to go back to their country to perform some signal service as soldiers of Jesus Christ. This letter breathes the authentic spirit of the Catholic Reform.[21]

As his sources of information multiplied, Ignatius saw that at Cologne it was not enough to hear confessions, visit the sick, and preach devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. He, who had been so reluctant to undertake the work of running colleges, was now determined to have one at Cologne. To effect this he was willing to make an exception. Although a suitable foundation was not forthcoming, he named four Jesuits for the future college in 1556 and gave them as watchword "totally to forget themselves." This proved a wise move because Cologne became rapidly the Jesuit capital of Germany. Men trained at the college staffed many other German foundations. Francis Borgia was to praise its fruitful poverty because, second only to the Roman College, Cologne had furnished teachers and priests who showed themselves capable workers in the vineyard of the Lord.[22]

In 1556 Ignatius again consented to take up the work in Ingolstadt since the Archduke Albrecht of Bavaria was now willing to found and endow a college. In June 1556 Ignatius despatched eighteen Jesuits to Ingolstadt, the beginning of permanent educational work by the Society in Bavaria which was to develop into a strong link in the chain of Catholic defense. So before he died Ignatius had, with the aid of distinguished subalterns, not only planned but begun to man a Catholic line which was destined to be held: Cologne in the Rheinlands, Ingolstadt in Bavaria and Vienna in Austria. As a subsidiary Prague was also the scene of a foundation in 1556. These colleges were the beginnings of an educational network which for two centuries was destined to cover Catho-

---

[21] Monumenta Ignatiana I, VIII, 383 ff, "vilia divinae sapientiae instrumenta."

[22] Duhr, *op. cit.*, 34.

lic Germany in somewhat the same way that our American Jesuit educational setup covers our country today. In this respect we can say with some truth that the German Assistancy was the American Assistancy of the Old Society. In Germany the Jesuits were in no wise the only ones who did valiant service for the cause. Just as in America today there are many, many outstanding Catholics in all spheres who are not Jesuits or Jesuit-trained. But the Jesuit spirit seems to have inspired the Catholic remnant in the Germanies to heroic efforts that probably would not have otherwise been made. The Society has no need to play this role in contemporary America where a victorious spirit inspires all. The effect of the early Jesuits in Germany was unique and may be compared to the action of General Phil Sheridan at Winchester, Virginia, in the Civil War. Sheridan met the Union Army in disordered flight before the confident Confederates. Courageously rallying the Union forces, he turned certain defeat into a glorious victory. The early Jesuits found the army of the militant Church in Germany yielding ground everywhere to the Protestant onrush and were able to give the few defenders the courage to continue their resistance.[23]

Ignatius and Canisius

Looked at from a purely human viewpoint, the efforts of Ignatius Loyola in Germany must appear as blessed with a good fortune beyond the capacities of the man who set them in motion. It would have seemed quite impossible in 1521 that the uneducated soldier, wounded in an obscure campaign, should ever be able to take any considerable part in Catholic resistance to Protestantism even if Protestantism remained a more or less local phenomenon. When in 1540 the traditional cult was being abolished in much of Germany, any effective action on his part might have seemed even more remote—and that despite the fact that he had in the meantime acquired a

---

[23] H. Hauser and A. Renaudet, *Les débuts de l'âge moderne* (Paris, 1929), p. 267, "Ainsi se reconstituait rapidement, dans l'Eglise romaine, cette force de résistance qui lui avait étrangement fait défaut. Depuis la restauration du Saint-Office, les progrès des ordres réformés, l'apparition de la Compagnie de Jésus, elle n'était plus désemparée, comme pendant les années tragiques du pontificat de Clément VII."

good education and been ordained to the priesthood. He did not as yet have a single German disciple. And yet the little Basque with his absolute reliance on God and his mysticism of election was able in the sixteen years of life remaining to him to multiply himself in such a way that, without treading German soil, his spirit was most active in the contest being waged for the soul of Germany.

Most important for the future had been the winning of Peter Canisius for his Society. Peter Faber had brought him into the Ignatian orbit, it is true, but through the Ignatian Exercises. In 1547 Loyola called the young theologian to Rome for personal contact. Canisius was then sent to Sicily for a year before being summoned to Rome for solemn profession. It was on this occasion, September 4, 1549, that Canisius had the famous vision of the Sacred Heart of which he wrote, "Thou, my Saviour, didst invite me and bid me to drink the waters of salvation from this fountain. After I had dared to approach Thy Heart, all full of sweetness, and to slake my thirst therein, Thou didst promise me a robe woven of three folds, peace, love and perseverance, with which to cover my naked soul, one which would be especially useful in the keeping of my vows. With this garment about me, I grew confident again that I should lack for nothing and that all things should turn out to Thy glory." On June 7, 1556 Ignatius made Canisius Provincial of the Upper German Province. In the years after Ignatius' death, Canisius grew to such stature that a modern German university professor has said that he became "the Counter-Reformation in Germany".[24]

Harsher Attitude?

Having treated of the work of Ignatius as an opponent of Protestantism in its external aspects, one final problem remains for consideration: the spirit of Ignatius in combating heresy. His disciples, Peter Faber and Peter Canisius, were, as we have seen, in favor of avoiding controversy, or at least all insulting and contemptuous references to their adversaries. Faber and Canisius had a deep conviction that God had sent

---

[24] *The Historical Bulletin*, 18, (1940), 55. Professor Heinrich Günther of Munich.

them to help the Germans in a spirit of love and forbearance. At first sight the attitude of Ignatius toward heretics and unbelievers seems much harsher. In 1542 he had intervened in favor of John III of Portugal who wished to use the Inquisition to control the Jews of his kingdom; and later on he was even willing that Jesuits should exceptionally hold the post of inquisitor in Portugal. In 1542 also he was one of those who urged Paul III to institute the Roman Inquisition. It has been asserted, probably with reason, that the intervention of Ignatius in these instances really did not carry much weight. Still the fact remains that Loyola was in favor of the Inquisition.[25]

Still more damaging to Ignatius' reputation for tolerance is a document dating from 1554. In that year, Ferdinand I of Austria, soon to be Holy Roman Emperor, consulted Canisius on the choice of means for saving his states for the Church. Canisius turned to Ignatius who consulted Lainez, Salmeron and other theologians. The result was an instruction modeled after the repressive methods in use in France and Spain. It is true that it did not satisfy Ignatius. The formulae he used in sending it were less decisive than usual. Canisius is not given a formal order—only suggestions which must be examined with the Rector at Vienna, Father de Lannoy. Ignatius tells them to decide whether to present the memorial or let it drop. Whether presented or not, it has survived and is one of Loyola's productions best known to those who do not like him.[26]

After enumerating the positive means usual with him, Ignatius turns to repressive measures. He advises Ferdinand not only to show himself a Catholic but also the determined foe of all heresy. Moreover the emperor should deprive those councilors, magistrates and administrators who are suspect of heresy of all dignities and of all important offices. In fact it would be more effective if he deprived some of them of life or condemned them to loss of property and exile, "aliquos vita vel bonorum expoliationibus et exilio plectendo." Heretics should be eliminated from the University of Vienna and

---

[25] H. G. Sedgwick, *Ignatius Loyola* (New York, 1923), 359.

[26] O. Braunsberger, I (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896), 488 ff.

other universities and schools. All heretical books should be burned or banished. Even books by heretics which treat of grammar, rhetoric or dialectics should be taboo. Heretics should not even be mentioned by name. "Preachers of heresy and heresiarchs and all who are found to be communicating the pest to others should be severely punished even at times by the death penalty." Still Ignatius was not in favor of execution by fire or of instituting the Inquisition in Germany. Things had gone too far, 'Sed de extremo supplicio et de Inquisitione ibi constituenda non loquor, quia supra captum videtur Germaniae ut nunc affecta est."

It is not certain, as we suggested above, that this memorial was ever presented to Ferdinand. But it is a revealing document. Ignatius certainly does not qualify in it as a patron of tolerance. He counts a little too heavily on police protection for orthodoxy. He was of his time in this respect. It would, however, be wrong to regard this document as expressing Ignatius' personal opinion on the manner of treating heretics. When we think of Luther's inflammatory outbursts, Ignatius' program is mild in comparison. When we study it and the *Defensio fidei* by which Calvin, at the very time Ignatius wrote, was erecting intolerance into a principle and systematizing the hatred of Catholicism which Luther had taught, we must conclude that Ignatius could scarcely have recommended milder conduct to Ferdinand who seemed the last hope of Catholicism in Austria since his son and heir, Maximiljan, was openly fraternizing with Lutheran preachers.

When there was question of the Jesuits only, St. Ignatius was in favor of mildness and charity. He was not one to see heresy everywhere or to call for extreme penalties. The heretics were erring brethren in whom he saw first the brother and only secondarily the error. If in writing to a ruler who wanted to protect the Church in a desperate situation, Ignatius recommended sterner methods, the temper and the circumstances of the times go far to explain the seeming inconsistency. Faber, Lejay and Canisius, his disciples, spoke and acted with such moderation that none could feel offended. Nadal the man whom Ignatius trusted perhaps more than any other summed up the attitude of his master when he said, "Let no one ever hear from the mouth of a Jesuit a word

which may be interpreted as offensive and insulting or spoken with an intention of dishonoring our opponents. We must be satisfied to present the truths of the faith with the greatest zeal and constancy, with complete sincerity and perfect love of the truth and with supreme freedom of spirit in the Lord."[27]

Conclusion

To return briefly to the maxims on human effort and confidence in Divine Providence with which we began this essay —it is probable that Ignatius first came to the conclusion that all available means should be used to accomplish religious purposes when he was debating the question of undertaking belated university studies. This occurred in 1523 when he found the Holy Land barred as a place where he might dwell as a hermit. He said afterwards he had been taught about that time that he ought to use all natural means while putting all his trust in God. Certainly the long years of study by which he fitted himself to found an Order destined to contain many learned men are an example of the use of human means. He acquired as good an education as could have been acquired at the time. The result was that he reaped abundantly in Germany—the one field of his endeavors we have studied here—and even more abundantly elsewhere.

Ignatius' advocacy of the use of repressive measures against Protestantism should probably also be catalogued under the heading of using every available means. In his day both the contending parties looked upon the use of force as legitimate and he was a man of the times in this respect. Although we may regret it, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that force was effective both for and against the faith in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Catholic Church was wiped out, or practically so, in the Protestant jurisdictions; Protestantism suffered the same fate under Catholic rulers. France, where two creeds were tolerated after the Edict of Nantes, was one of few exceptions.

---

[27] *Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal* IV (Madrid, 1905), 228. When Bernardino Occhino, the General of the Capuchins, married and went over to Protestantism, Ignatius instructed Claude Lejay to get in touch with him and promise that the Society would, as far as lay in its power guarantee his safety. Favre-Dorsaz, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

The Juan Valadez Case

James D. Loeffler, S.J.

On January 11th of this year more than 17,000,000 viewers saw enacted on their television screen a somewhat garbled but basically true account of a "Big Story" brought to pass last June (1956) in El Paso, Texas. Paralleling in many respects the campaign undertaken just ten years ago in Miami, Florida, ("Esthonians Rescued," WOODSTOCK LETTERS, February 1947), the re-uniting of many Mexican families separated by harsh and inflexible immigration laws occasioned less national publicity than the dramatic Esthonian affair, but was more far-reaching in its consequences. Even the thousands of Hungarians since admitted to this country were enabled to enter through the application to them of the "parole system" that had its origin here.

It all started in April, 1956, when a good, quiet Mexican, Juan Valadez, the father of seven little girls, came to the Rectory with one of his daughters and laid a sheaf of papers on the desk before me. From careful perusing of them, I learned that a third appeal for the admission of his wife to this country had been rejected and she was held permanently excludable. Juan was American-born, though reared in Mexico, and four of his daughters were born here. The three youngest were living with his wife in Juarez; the rest were in school here. He was obliged to be father and mother to them and pay rent for two room homes on both sides of the Border. On Sundays all went over to Juarez to visit their mother, but the rest of the week they were forced to live apart.

The situation was obviously contrary to the public interest and the welfare of the little girls, so I called the immigration department and asked for a hearing of the case. The date was set and the lawyer who had represented Mrs. Valadez was notified. At the hour appointed, I interviewed the Special

Inquiry Officer assigned. He had presided at the previous hearings and his mind was made up. I was excluded from the hearing and only the lawyer admitted. But he used a brief containing the arguments I had prepared. The decision was negative and the results forwarded to Washington on appeal.

In the meantime, the advent of Mothers' Day provided a dramatic occasion to publicize the case in the newspapers and this was followed up by a public attack on the iniquitous law and the method of enforcement, and by editorials and articles supporting my stand. The latter were written by reporter Ralph Lowenstein who won the TV Big Story Award for his efforts. In interviews and pictures, it was shown that there were hundreds of such cases along the Border, and nothing could be done in their behalf except for an occasional act of Congress granting relief in particular cases. The files of local lawyers and of the N.C.W.C. Bureau of Immigration were crammed with hopeless cases that had piled up over a period of years. Congressman Francis E. Walters of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House sub-Committee of Immigration, and co-author of the McCarron-Walters Act, was in a position to stymie all efforts of Congress and the President to bring about a change in the law. This he continued to do.

Through the publicity given to the Valadez case, the matter came to the attention of President Eisenhower and to Immigration Director Swing in Washington. When the case came up for hearing in Washington, all was set for a vigorous fight: representatives of N.C.W.C. and the local Congressman were present. But the hearing was never held. In a precedent-breaking decision, it was decided that not only the Valadez case but all similar cases were to be reviewed by the local immigration director and, where it was in the public interest, he was empowered to grant an indefinite parole into the United States of any person hitherto excluded by the immigration laws. The local director had intended to do this personally in the Valadez case but was deterred by higher authority until authorization was received from Washington.

When the news broke, he was immediately informed by telephone and summoned me and the reporter to his office. He signed the parole immediately, and told me to have Mrs. Valadez at the International Bridge in one hour with her

children. Here, after the usual procedure, she was permitted to return to her home and family after four years of exile. The children on this side of the border were dismissed from school early to be present on the occasion.

Juan Valadez, returning from work at five o'clock, was overjoyed to see his wife and family re-united once again in their own home. Reporters and photographers were on hand to record the historic event. Mrs. Valadez had cleaned the house and prepared a Mexican supper. When that was over, all repaired to Sacred Heart Church here with many tears to thank that merciful Heart for an answer to their long years of prayer.

Since then, more than 80 families have enjoyed such reunions in this area alone, and the results have been extended the entire length of the Border, and even to aliens from overseas. Thus has ended one of the most satisfying and consoling experiences of a lifetime. Local lawyers, overjoyed, banded together to offer free legal service and advice to any who might need them, so that never again would it be necessary for a prospective immigrant to appear before an inquiry officer of the Immigration Department without competent counsel and direction. The history-making Valadez case may figure prominently in future Congressional debates and revisions of the immigration laws.

God, Who didst sanctify the first fruits of the faith in the vast tracts of North America by the preaching and blood of thy holy martyrs Isaac Jogues and his companions, grant us this grace: that through their intercession the worldwide Christian harvest may daily grow more fruitful; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

—from the Mass of St. Isaac and Companions, Sept. 26.

Father Francisco J. Rello

Teodoro Llamzon, S.J.

That rare combination, which is the dream of every missionary—the gift of tongues, and the ability to adapt oneself to local ways—Father Francisco J. Rello, S.J. possessed in a remarkable degree, when as a young Scholastic, he came to the Philippine Islands in 1905. Already fluent in Spanish (his native tongue), Portuguese, French, German, Italian and English, he began to pick up all the important dialects of the Islands. Ten years later, he could carry on a conversation in Tagalog, Ilocano, Cebuano, Bicol, Pampango, Ilongo, Pangasinan, Ibanag, Cuyunen, Waray-Waray, Chavacano and Moro. He even had smatterings of Chinese, Japanese and Russian, and when, towards the end of his life, someone asked him how many languages he knew, he gave the incredible figure of more than forty!

The key to a people's heart and mind is the knowledge of their tongue. Father Rello knew this, and he set about putting his linguistic talent to good use. It was not unusual to see him, as a hospital chaplain, trudge along from bed to bed, greeting each patient in the native dialect, talk to him about his children and then proceed to the next bed, beginning all over again in an entirely different dialect. The invariable reaction of the sick man was, "I thought I was the only Moro, or Pampango in this hospital. That Father talked to me in my own language, and he speaks it very well, too!" Later, they were to find out that he was also a man of God, truly interested in their problems and dedicated to solving them. He was their father in every sense of the word.

The eldest of a family of four, Francisco J. Rello was born in Spain, in the Province of Oruña, where his patron saint, Francis Xavier, the famous missionary, had lived. After finishing preparatory studies in Tarazona Seminary in Tala Rosa, he entered the Society of Jesus in Zaragosa, on June 1, 1897. He completed his studies in philosophy at Tortosa, and

then sailed to the Philippines in 1905 to teach the classics at the Ateneo de Manila.

Here began his first contacts with the boys, for whom he had prayed and whose training in God's ways, he had carefully planned. Here began his friendship with those bright-eyed lads, who were later to grow up leaders of their people. A prominent intellectual in Manila, who now heads a University, and who sat in his classes thus writes of him with warm affection:

> Although I was only in my early teens, I remember the good Father for three outstanding qualities. He was kind, understanding and fair.
>
> At that age, I was a mischievous boy and my first real personal contact with Father Rello took place when he made me remain after class. I expected to be punished severly, but he simply talked to me in a fatherly manner, then, as punishment, told me to go to confession and communion.
>
> During the first months, our after-class sessions were quite frequent, but he never showed anger or impatience. As I look back to those incidents now, I can say that I learned a lot about good conduct, studies and religion because of them. I was really getting special lectures on the subjects from a kind and wise teacher.
>
> Even after I had reformed, he continued to call me for after-class sessions during which we would have a good talk. He realized, perhaps, that I was in my most formative years and that the counsel which he was imparting to me was producing the results he expected. I think the bedrock foundation of my character, such as it is today, was formed then, with Father Rello shaping it with his wise advice and kind words.
>
> In addition to his qualities of kindness and understanding, he was fair and certainly knew how to handle boys. This was nowhere better observed than in his handling of our class rivalries. In those days, following the Spanish pattern, the members of a class were automatically divided into two rival intellectual bands. The boarders were called "Romanos," the non-boarders, "Cartagos." To stimulate intellectual effort, the brightest boys in each group were given titles.
>
> In all these question-and-answer bouts, Father Rello was the ultimate judge of whether an answer was wrong or correct. In making his decisions, he was always fair, playing no favorites and inspiring the boys to harder efforts.

It was also during this time that Father Rello, seeing the crying need of the people for instruction in their faith, organized the Ateneo Catechetical Instruction League. It was

a desperate hour for the Church. In the wake of the Philippine Revolution, there was an exodus of Spanish missionaries from the Islands, and the handful of Jesuits and native priests were pitifully unequal to the burden of tending the flock. Besides, the faith was besieged by three powerful adversaries, seeking to tear away the sheep from the fold—the nationalistic Church of Aglipay, proselytizers, and Masonic propaganda. Something had to be done immediately if the people were to remain firm in their faith.

Father Rello, therefore, thought of bringing some of the students of the Ateneo to fill in the gap of instructions in the faith. For this work, he interested the sodalists, and brought them to the slums of Tondo. He saw the ACIL through countless obstacles, and went himself to the various centers. He had the privilege of seeing this organization celebrate its golden jubilee, and on this occasion, the school paper, GUIDON, ran a feature article on its accomplishments. Among the things mentioned was a glowing tribute to its founder: "As we look over the past records and present achievements of the ACIL, we can without the least reservation, tell Father Rello that he has done his part and that the ACIL will always function as long as the need for it exists."

After his regency, Father Rello went to the United States for theology. He studied at Woodstock, Maryland. To this day, his contemporaries remember him, and they brighten up as one mentions his name. He returned to Spain for his ordination to the priesthood, and remained there for tertianship.

The young priest returned to the Philippines in 1913. Three years later, he was assigned as chaplain to the lepers of the sanitarium at Culion Island, and it was here that he began his lifework. For twenty-three years, he climbed the steep stairways to the wards on the hillsides of the island in order to bring the patients the healing graces of his ministry. Here, he spent the best years of his life, and used all his talents to bring joy to the patients confined in that lonely hospital.

The Jesuit Fathers have been chaplains at Culion ever since it was established in 1905 by the American Government. William Cameron Forbes wrote that, when the call for volunteers for this service went forth, every Jesuit priest responded, including Father Algue, Chief of the Weather Bu-

reau in Manila. However, the Jesuit superior could only spare two men at the most for this work, and one of the lucky men in the year 1916 was Father Rello.

Perhaps it was because he realized his great privilege; perhaps it was just his zeal that drove him to heroic love for the lepers. In any case, he was totally devoted to them, and spared no effort to share their sufferings, and ease their trials. To him, no matter how disagreeable the odor of their sores, nor how repulsive their wrecked bodies, they were still his children, and he embraced them all in the charity of his heart. In vain did the doctors plead with him to be more careful. He would simply say, "They are my children, and I must treat them as such. Don't worry about me. I should have contracted leprosy long ago, had I been susceptible to it."

His utter disregard of the ordinary precautions of the hospital convinced the lepers that he was truly one of them. They warmed up to him easily and quickly. To him they took not only their personal problems, but also the problems of the whole colony. He was liked both by the doctors and employees as well as by the lepers themselves.

In 1952, the Philippine Government paid tribute to the good Father Rello had accomplished among the lepers. After a dinner party at the Malacañan Palace in Manila, the first lady of the land decorated him "for his unselfish work and distinguished service to the country." The medal came from President Quirino, and the old priest accepted it with tears in his eyes.

Nor did the lepers themselves forget his devotion to them. Seven years after he left Culion, he visited another leper sanitarium in Tala, Rizal, and when the lepers whom he had tended at Culion learned that he was in the hospital, they rushed out to meet him. He wrote to a friend: "Yesterday, I went 35 kilometers from Manila to see the lepers who were with me at Culion and are now at the Central Luzon Sanitarium. They were speechless for joy, when they saw me again after seven years. I heard their confessions for three hours in all the dialects."

In 1941, Father Rello was transfered to Zamboanga, on the island of Mindanao. Here, Father worked among the Moros and was chaplain to the prisoners of San Ramon Penal Colony.

When war broke out, he took to the hills, and did what work he could among the mountain tribes and refugees who had fled to the mountains.

After the war, superiors called him up to Manila in 1947, in order to give him a little rest. But his constant request for work brought him once more the chaplaincy of a hospital, this time the Philippine General Hospital, the largest in Manila. Even old age did not prevent him from walking down the long corridors to the patients who called for him. In his room, he kept a little statue of the Baby Jesus, and when he received a call either during the day or the night, he would meekly get up and say, "I'm coming, Baby Jesus!" The call of the patient was for him the call of the Divine Infant.

This devotion to the Child Jesus brought out a most attractive quality in Father Rello: simplicity. The patients and doctors knew that Father was like their own father. He was truly interested in them. His ready smile and his calm face made it easy for them to confide their troubles to him. He was always ready to listen, no matter how small their problems, and when walking became an agony, he had himself brought to their rooms in a wheelchair, in order to attend to them.

A good illustration of this wonderful simplicity of Fr. Rello in dealing with souls is brought out by one of his penitents:

> For me, the distinguishing trait of Father Rello was his childlike simplicity. Perhaps, this was the offshoot of the tender love he had for the Baby Jesus. When presented a small image of the Divine Baby, he carried it inside his soutane, against his breast. He simplified everything to one major concern, doing the will of God. As a matter of fact, whenever he assisted the dying, he made them say with him, "Thy will be done."
>
> The other trait which I found striking was his unchanging serenity, his consistent and constant cheerfulness no matter what happened—even when he was suffering physically or was forgotten or neglected. It was wonderful to pour out one's sorrow to him because he was such a sympathetic and consoling listener. And then, after the sorrow was told, he would always take one to God —either to Baby Jesus or to the Crucified. I remember once when he saw me crying, he took me to a crucifix and gently made me say with him, "Thank you, Jesus."

A favorite pastime of his was talking to his birds. Wherever he was, in Culion, Zamboanga or Manila, he kept a few canaries and *mayas* in a cage in his garden. He would request his friends to send him these warblers and would take care of them himself. He brought some sparrows to Culion, and years later, when he had a chance of visiting the island again, he wrote to a dear friend in the United States:

> I would like to go back to Culion even for a few hours, to see the inmates and the sparrows which I brought in 1926. I am sure that they have multiplied. I would like to see the fruit trees also, and the pineapples and the houses and the church we built for about two hundred thousand pesos on the hill of the island.

When someone asked him whether the birds understood him, when he talked to them, he would say, "Surely, they have their own language and I learn many things from them!"

An interesting incident about his birds is recounted by one of his close friends:

> The only time I saw him with tears in his eyes was when my mother gave him a couple of rice birds to take the place of his beloved parrot, *pikoy*, which died of drowning and cold when Father abandoned it in its bath, to minister to a dying patient. He was touched to tears that my mother understood how much he felt the loss of his birds.

Thus, even in his little interests, he did not lose his proper sense of values. For him, the sick came first, for that was his work as a priest of God. He promptly answered their calls, and left everything else to attend to them. At one time, a call came while he was shaving. Immediately dropping everything, he hurried to the dying person with half his face shaved.

A friend tells of his day's schedule at the Philippine General Hospital:

> I don't know at what time he used to rise in the morning when he was with us. It must have been at a very early hour, because he distributed Communion to the patients in the wards before the 6 o'clock Mass. He kept this up faithfully even if during the night he had been wakened two or three times for the dying. The first year he was in the hospital, he did the rounds painfully on foot. The bones in his feet kept giving him trouble after his work in Culion. Later on, he went to the patients in a wheelchair.

But Superiors knew that the old man had finished his work, and that his long journey through the hospital corridors had

come to an end. They told him to retire to the Ateneo de Manila, and take his well-earned rest. Reluctantly, he bade good-bye to his patients, and like a good soldier, followed his orders.

In 1954, he became bedridden and was taken to the infirmary at the Jesuit Novitiate in Novaliches. Here, he could find quiet, and the younger members of the Society could learn from him the shining virtues of simplicity and faith. The novices and the Brother Infirmarian constantly attended him and tried to foresee his needs. Often, they would ask him if he wanted anything, but he would shake his head and say, "I'm alright. Don't worry about me. All I want are your prayers."

One morning, as he rose from his wheelchair, he fell. X-ray revealed that he had suffered bone fractures and had to be brought to the hospital for treatment. The doctors said that he would have to be in traction for at least four months, and then in a cast for two months more. Although the injury was serious, there appeared to be no immediate danger. Yet it seems that this time Father saw more than the doctors did. A few days after the accident, he requested Extreme Unction which was administered, although death did not seem imminent. This was the only medicine he wanted, and shortly afterwards he died. His ears closed to the noise of the world to hear this beautiful invitation: "Come because when I was sick, you visited Me."

Before his death, he wrote to a dear friend of his in Philadelphia, whom he knew only through correspondence, but who was very close to him: "I have given myself completely to God and promised to live and die in these Islands, thus making my sacrifice to God more complete. I have been here in the Philippines since 1905, and I want to spend my last days here if God so wills it." God granted his prayer. It was October 1, 1955, when he passed to his reward. He was seventy-nine years old, fifty-eight years in the Society, and fifty years in the Philippines.

FATHER WILLIAM T. TALLON

Father William T. Tallon

James M. Somerville, S.J.

Born in Hoboken on February 9, 1881, Father William Tallon entered the novitiate at Frederick after completing his third year at old St. Francis Xavier College in New York. He distinguished himself very early as a classics scholar and was sent to teach in the Juniorate while as yet only a Scholastic. Returning to Woodstock after regency, he was ordained to the sacred priesthood by Cardinal Gibbons in 1912. During his fifty-eight years as a Jesuit he was successively Dean of the Juniorate at Poughkeepsie, Dean of Georgetown College, Socius to the Provincial, and Rector of St. Joseph's College in Philadelphia. His last years were spent at Fordham where he served as student counsellor and classics teacher in the Prep and, finally, as spiritual father to the Spellman community.

For nearly a quarter of a century Father Tallon composed the Latin text of the citations and honorary degrees awarded by Fordham to distinguished laymen and clergy. A conservative estimate would place the number of these scrolls at close to one hundred, including the one bestowed upon the present Holy Father when he visited the United States as Cardinal Secretary of State. Father Tallon had few equals in his mastery of Latin form. His citations were drawn in a terse, elliptical style that combined the sententious brevity of Tacitus with a sly and genial academic humor. Not a word was wasted, yet the total effect was one of grace and elegance.

It was characteristic of this modest, retiring man that although he had written scores of citations in praise of others, few were aware that he had himself received the honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Georgetown while he was President of St. Joseph's. Only after his death did his own brother and sister learn of the degree from the press. In this instance as in so many others, Father Tallon was quite incapable of attaching any importance to an honor paid to himself.

One of the more remarkable features of his last years was the manner in which he adapted himself to the high school boys as student counsellor at Fordham Prep. Naturally retiring and serious, he was nevertheless able to win the confidence and affection of many generations of prepsters who soon learned how authentic and unselfish his interest in them was. His office was always crowded with noisy teen-agers who swarmed around his desk—when they were not actually sitting on it. They knew that this was one place where they were always welcome and it was here more than anywhere else in the school that they felt at home. During these years Father Tallon made many lasting friendships and long after graduation his "boys" would return to ask his fatherly advice and guidance in their personal affairs.

It was not easy for Father Tallon in his old age to surrender his personal privacy and cultivated interests to engage in the apostolate to youth; his gravity and quiet dignity seemed better suited to the academic council chamber. Yet he carried off his assignment with success and often remarked that these were the happiest years of his life.

In all things and at all times Father Tallon was the soul of kindness and courtesy. This was due in no small measure to his instinctive refinement and family background, but it also had deeper roots in an overflowing supernatural charity. He loved to do favors for others, especially if he could do them without being found out. On the other hand, he was most appreciative of any small kindness done in his behalf, a quality which was most evident during his last illness. Even when he was uncomfortable and in pain, he would rarely give any hint of it, lest he inconvenience others. If relief was provided, he would thank his attendants with such humble gratitude that they were deeply moved. "He is such a gentleman; so priestly," remarked one of his nurses the day before he died.

Self-effacing and courteous to the end, Father William Tallon died quietly on October 13, 1956 at St. Vincent's hospital. May he rest in peace.

Father Martin Scott

Francis X. Curran, S.J.

On Sunday, November 28, 1954, at St. Vincent's Hospital in New York City, died Father Martin Scott. This grand old priest had completed seventy years in the Society of Jesus and was approaching his ninetieth birthday when he was called to his eternal reward.

Born in New York City when the last reverberations of the Civil War were dying away, on October 16, 1865, Martin Scott as a young boy moved with his family to Utica, New York. There, after his elementary education, he entered in 1880 the Utica Academy. Three years later he transferred to the College of the Holy Cross for the final year of his secondary education. On graduation in 1884, Martin Scott applied for admission into the Society.

On August 14, 1884, the young neophyte entered Manresa, the novitiate at West Park, New York. This house of training, opened by the New York Mission in 1876, became, after the union of New York to the Maryland Province, a rather superfluous luxury, since the combined province had only 200 scholastics. Consequently the house was closed and in August 1885 Brother Scott travelled with the other novices and juniors to Frederick in Maryland. There on August 15, 1886, Mr. Scott pronounced his first vows. After the completion of his Juniorate in 1888, he moved to Woodstock for his three years of philosophy. In 1891 began his years of regency. He had a normal period of teaching—two years at Holy Cross and three years at Xavier College on 16th Street. In 1896 began his years of theological studies at Woodstock. He was raised to the priesthood at the theologate on June 25, 1899 by James Cardinal Gibbons. After the completion of his studies, young Father Scott travelled West for his year of tertianship at Florissant in Missouri.

At the end of his year of third probation, Father Scott was assigned, in 1901, to Holy Cross as prefect of discipline. In

the following year, he transferred to St. Ignatius Church at 84th Street in New York City. Here he remained as curate, minister and—the work he remembered most fondly in his later years—director of the choir, noted for its boy sopranos. In 1915 Father Scott packed his bags and went off to the Church of the Immaculate Conception on Harrison Street in Boston. There he spent nine years in parish work. In 1924, for the last time in his life, Father Scott again shifted the scene of his labors. This time he moved to Xavier on 16th Street where he was to live for the remaining thirty years of his life. There he did parish work and, using his own popular volume, *Answer Wisely,* taught the boys of Xavier High School their religion. It was an impressive sight to see the venerable octogenarian, with an eager yet somewhat uncertain step, answer the bell calling him to class. When the ravages of advancing age—during his last years, Father Scott was quite deaf—indicated the advisability of his withdrawing from classroom work, Father Scott did not desist from teaching.

He continued the labor in which he had achieved notable success, that of instructing converts. He played a notable part in the establishment of the Xavier Catholic Information Center and acted for a year as its director. And he continued to write.

For as a writer Father Scott achieved his greatest fame and accomplished his most notable services for the Church. It is a rather surprising fact that this, Scott's greatest talent, remained hidden till he was of an age when most men are forced to admit to themselves that they are no longer as young as they once had been. On his transfer to Boston in 1915, Father Scott wrote a number of newspaper articles which were well received. At the age of fifty-two, in 1917, he issued these articles as a book entitled *God and Myself.*

As soon as the book was published, it was obvious that a major apologist for the Catholic Church had appeared. This, his first book, sold, it appears quite certain almost 250,000 copies. His publishers, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, informed the present writer that their records of sales before 1921 do not exist, but since that date 183,381 copies of *God and Myself*

have been sold. It will be to the point to quote from the publishers' letter:

"I think it is safe to say that better than a million copies (of Father Scott's works) were printed and in circulation since 1921. A further estimate would be pure conjecture as to what the sales were prior to 1921. It seemed, however, to be his most popular time, and I would venture a guess of about 100,000 during these first years of his popularity, when one considers that there were four books, one of which was his most popular one, then his third and fourth most popular among them. We could say that the average would have been 50,000 each."

It is impossible to say just how many copies of Father Scott's books were sold. And when one discusses his pamphlets, it is even more difficult to reach an approximate number, which must have been astronomical. To give an illustration—the Paulist Press informed the present writer that they had published but one of Father Scott's books and one of his pamphlets. The book, *Marriage*, finally reached a printing of 140,000, and the pamphlet, *Marriage Problems*, "sold approximately 300,000 copies." And how many pamphlets Father Scott wrote it is impossible to say; it would appear that the note on the program of his diamond jubilee in 1944 asserting that he had published over 100 is not too excessive an estimate. Just one of his publishers, America Press, issued at least fifteen of his pamphlets. Twelve of them are at the present date (1955) selling briskly. But the America Press office could not give the writer even an estimate of the number sold. It is interesting to note that the latest in the America series was the first published in 1951, when Father Scott was eighty-six years old.

Indeed, it is a bit difficult to say how many books Father Scott published. A page in his papers, dated 1940, shows that his books were issued by Macmillan, Benziger, and the Paulist Press. His major publishers, however, were always Kenedy, and their records show that they alone issued twenty-five of Scott's books, with a total sale, since 1921, of 939,654.

Nor was the good effect of Father Scott's writings restricted only to English-speaking peoples. A note on the diamond jubilee program informs us that Father's works were

published in Spanish, Italian, French, Chinese, and Hindustani versions. What the circulation of these translations may have been, no one can even guess.

Down to his last days Father Scott carried on his apostolate of the press. After his death there was discovered among his papers the first draft of a volume on which he was working—in his ninetieth year! But the great flood of his writings had, quite understandably, dwindled to a trickle in his ninth decade. To the last his mind remained clear, and the only notable impairment of his faculties was his deafness. Until a few months before his death, Father sallied forth for his daily stroll, impeccably dressed and carrying a cane on which he had to rely increasingly. During his walks he would smilingly engage children and passers-by in conversation. Proud of his age, (it appeared in his conversation that he intended to live to be the oldest Jesuit in the United States), he would challenge his chance acquaintances to guess his exact age. From his smiling reports to the community, few guesses came within ten years of his age. Indeed, among his papers there is a letter from Frank Hague, political boss of Jersey City, paying the dollar he had lost on his wager with Father Scott.

But time took its toll, and in the last months of his life Father Scott had to submit to the doctors. He was not sick, he was merely old and tired. After a first stay at St. Vincent's, the doctors released him. But soon he had to return to the hospital. To his visitors the exhausted old man expressed the hope that God would not delay his homecoming much longer.

Finally, on November 28, 1954, God called his faithful servant, who had written so well and so much about Him, to Himself. On Thursday, December 2, in the Church of St. Francis Xavier, crowded with prelates, priests, nuns, and laity, Cardinal Spellman pronounced the last absolution over one of America's greatest Catholic apologists.

Books of Interest to Ours

DESERVING HIGHEST PRAISE

Son of the Church. *By Louis Lochet. Translated by Albert J. LaMothe, Jr.* Chicago: Fides Publishers Assoc., 1956. Pp. xiii-255. $4.50.

Father Lochet, formerly a professor of theology, has been pastor of a worker-parish in Reims for the past six years. Through this actual experience in the apostolate he has come to feel deeply "the enormous disproportion between the apostle's love of men and his own innate weakness to reach so few men and for so short a time." Certainly the author's experience is not an extraordinary one. It is the experience of any apostle. It is an experience which can lead to lassitude, to discouragement, even to despair. But it can also lead the apostle to reflect. That is what the author has done, and his book is the fruit of his reflection. As he states in the foreword, he offers it as "the testimony of a man who works in the Church, and who seeks to understand what he is doing by discovering what she is."

The book, therefore, is not a new attempt at furthering theological research. Rather, it seeks to take up truths long familiar to all of us and re-present them in such a way that we view them not as "stimulating speculations," but as the sole adequate explanation of our lives and our work within the Church. The book betrays its origins: it is the work of one who is to an eminent degree both theologian and apostle, of one who has come to realize that the Church offers us her theology not only as something to be contemplated but as something to be lived. The author is not the first to have come to this realization, nor surely will he be the last. But, more than others, he has given eloquent expression to a realization of which all of us must be constantly reminded. It is primarily for this reason that the book is deserving of the highest praise.

While every chapter will be read with profit, three at least seem to merit special mention: the first, in which attention is given to the more serious temptations that beset all apostolic activity; the fourth, in which the author seeks to show that all our activity will have meaning and value only when it is done within the framework of the Church; and the ninth, in which are discussed the qualifications necessary for the apostle of our age.

It is a matter of some regret that the English translation is at times rather too close to its French original, so that clarity and smoothness have suffered to some degree.

JOHN F. CURRAN, S.J.

CLASSICAL HUMANISM

A History of Education in Antiquity. *By H. I. Marrou. Translated by George Lamb.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956. Pp. xvii-466.

Histories of education are certainly not a rarity, but a history of this quality is. For a fascinating theme, the relation of education and culture, permeates Marrou's story of Classical humanism. This theme is the heart of an original synthesis of recent research material on an old subject which the author presents in a thoroughly delightful narrative style. A further technique of the publisher makes this volume more enjoyable to read. This is the arrangement of footnotes which allows for unobstructed reading as well as documentation, by placing the original citations to documents as paginal footnotes, while more detailed references constitute a substantial section, "Additional Notes."

The scope of Marrou's history extends from 1000 B.C. to 500 A.D. First, it watches the shaping of classical education principally in the hands of Plato and Isocrates, then analyzes its classical form in the Hellenistic age and finally, follows its propagation throughout the pagan and Christian world of Roman influence until its destruction by the invading waves of Germanic tribes from northern Europe. A continuous picture results: an initial athletic-militaristic training gives way first to an artistic and finally to an intellectual-literary education. Details of this sketch are filled in with information on methods, curriculum and institutions of each era and with other, perhaps more interesting, topics such as the impact of great masters of the Classical tradition.

This story of Western civilization's birth and growth will profit many of Ours but perhaps none more than those teaching and studying in the juniorate, high school and college. For it offers a deeper knowledge of humanism, the basis of our Jesuit system of education. It discusses methods, e.g. the idea of imitation (p. 84) and emulation (p. 272), values such as the mind-sharpening effect of mathematics (p. 73) and possible weaknesses, such as the danger of superficiality and unreality resulting from an overemphasis on humanistic culture (p. 57). These and other points together with a special chapter give further insights into the nature of Classical humanism.

L. H. Larkin, S.J.

STIMULATING

The Mass and Liturgical Reform. *By Rev. John L. Murphy.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1956. Pp. xii-340. $5.95.

The current in the literature today is a rather marked shift from the post-Tridentine emphasis on the hierarchical structure of the Church, to that aspect of the Church as a living organism which is designed to bring about an active, intelligent participation of the laity in the life of that Body. In this transitional phase which has already seen so many reforms in the liturgical life of the Church, Father Murphy has done a signal service for priests, religious and laymen whose time is at

a premium, and who lack ready access to sources. Within the small compass of this book, the author has competently delineated the meaning of Liturgy, as well as its relations with faith, with converts, religious instruction and everyday living. He has also given us an illuminating analysis of the doctrine of the Mystical Body, traced a comprehensive history of the liturgical development, and presented a penetrating and challenging exposition of the pastoral needs of the twentieth century. In defining exactly the current problems and proposing solutions, and especially while treating the use of the vernacular in the Mass, it is the author's avowed purpose to stimulate thought rather than give final solutions.

Richly documented by use of the monumental studies of Jungmann, first and foremost, and of Gregory Dix, Schmidt, Durst, Ellard, Klauser, Steuart and others, the author discusses and comments on various aspects of the liturgy and liturgical reforms. Moreover, he constantly makes use of the pertinent Papal encyclicals, *Mediator Dei* and *Mystici Corporis Christi.* This book should bring the reader abreast of developments and serve as a guide to the sources for anyone interested in a deeper and more intensive study of the Mass and liturgical reform. Certainly both lie at the very heart of the revival calculated to make the Church of tomorrow a force that will bring the neo-pagan world to the feet of Christ.

EMMANUEL V. NON, S.J.

DAWSON SYNTHESIS

The Dynamics of World History. *By Christopher Dawson.* Edited by John J. Mulloy. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956. Pp. xiv-489. $6.00.

While haunted by the memories of two world wars and nervously attempting to ward off an even worse cataclysm, the men of the atomic age are abandoning the search for historical facts. Men today strive to find the meaning in events. The metahistorian who offers the best explanation of history to Catholics is the convert, Christopher Dawson. His socio-religious point of view aids readers to unite the mass of historical data. For according to Dawson, religion and cultures ferment and fuse to produce historical vitality; historical epochs are categorized by the religious viewpoint held by the culture.

The Dynamics of World History, edited by John Mulloy is an attempt at a Dawson synthesis. Selections culled from his works which were penned between 1921 and 1955 present Dawson's thesis in his own words; the editor confines himself to an extensive "note." The book is divided into two main divisions. The second part, "Conceptions of World History", far outshines the other. Dawson writes lucidly in defense of his own metahistory. The recent dates of these metahistorical essays, however, make a reader wonder whether the first section of the book is as valuable. The first part, "Toward a Sociology of History", is not too well unified. Readers also realize that Dawson's views have sharp-

ened over the years. Yet the reader is made uneasy by the thought that a synthesis is only valuable if it portrays accurately the present opinion of the author. Would not a scholar of Dawson's caliber have utilized the research of a genius like Lewis Mumford? Yet the section on urbanization bears no date later than 1935; Mumford's research was published after that date. Dawson, also, would not have approved the spelling of Frederic Le Play's name as "Leplay" (p. 216); the French sociologist is too well known to Dawson. The assurance of the editor that the synthesis received Dawson's approval would be a mere shadow compared to an actual reworking of this valuable material by Christopher Dawson.

The editor's "note", moreover, which is actually a commentary on each section, is hidden disadvantageously at the end of the book. At the same time the two main divisions and the five chief subdivisions are introduced only by a change of format on the introductory page. Dawson is clear but even he would have provided a commentary to show why "Prevision in Religion" is followed by "T. S. Eliot on the meaning of Culture". The editor's commentary does link the disparate sections but its hidden location and essay form will not win accolades. The content of the "note" is excellent; the treatment of an "aesthetic approach" to history (p. 445) shows keen insight.

A second edition, more carefully edited, with the commentary readily accessible would be useful to Catholics; a second edition, reworked by Dawson, would be a windfall.

EDMUND G. RYAN, S.J.

INSPIRATIONAL

The Roman Catacombs and Their Martyrs. *By Ludwig Hertling, S.J., and Engelbert Kirschbaum, S.J.* Translated by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1956. Pp. xiv-224; 48 plates. $3.50.

For a knowledge of the miraculous spread of Christianity during its first four or five centuries, we must turn not only to the writings left by those early Christians but also to their "monuments," the material remains of that era which have been preserved down to our own day. Chief among these monuments, of course, are the catacombs of Rome, those eighty or ninety underground miles where Roman Christians buried their dead 1500 years ago, and in so doing left for us inspiring testimonies of the Faith they affirmed, even when it meant the laying down of life itself.

However, although the catacombs of Rome have always been held in special veneration by the Christian world, it is only since 1819 that these precious store-houses of Christianity have been studied with the care and scientific exactitude that they deserve, and so it is only within comparatively recent times that we have been able to use the catacombs as a means of gaining a fuller understanding of the persecutions and triumphs that Christianity experienced at Rome.

Because the catacombs do afford such clear insights into early Christianity, and because most Christians have rather nebulous notions concerning the catacombs and their origins, Father Hertling of the Gregorian and Father Kirschbaum, an archaeologist of renown, set about presenting the German Christian world with a "popular'" yet pains-takingly accurate description of what the Roman catacombs are and what their history has been. So successful was their endeavor that Father Costelloe, a Fulbright scholar who studied under Father Kirschbaum, undertook translating their book into English.

Beginning with a general description of how the catacombs came to be, the authors then give the histories of the different catacombs, together with brief accounts of the individual popes and martyrs whose tombs are found there. Thus names we have often heard read from the Martyrology or have seen in the pages of the Missal become personages separated from us by a millennium and a half, yet closely united with us in the profession of "one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism." In a special chapter on the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul, Father Kirschbaum, one of the four men commissioned by the Holy Father to explore the tomb of St. Peter in 1954, tells us clearly and concisely all that has been discovered by the recent excavations beneath St. Peter's. However, interesting and inspiring though these chapters are, I am sure that for most readers the chapters on "The Eucharist," "Baptism," and "The People of God" will be even more highly prized because of the insight they give into the Faith lived by these "every-day" Christians of early Rome.

The intrinsic interest of the subject itself, the obvious enthusiasm of the authors for their work, the clarity of their presentation, the copious use of plates and diagrams—all go to make the reading of this book an eminently satisfying experience.

JOHN F. CURRAN, S.J.

CONTEMPORARY SCHOLASTICISM

Progress in Philosophy: Philosophical Studies in Honor of Rev. Dr. Charles A. Hart. *Edited by John A. McWilliams, S.J.* Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1955. Pp. vi-216. $5.00.

Progress in Philosophy can be conveniently assessed by pointing out three degrees of progress in its articles. The section on the philosophy of nature best manifests the first degree: new problems unfortunately treated like old ones. The Aristotelian method of Physics is applied to modern physical scientific method, apparently ignoring the distinctive methods and objects of philosophy and of science as understood by the practitioners of each today. Thus there is an attempt to illuminate modern relativity and atomic theories with Aristotle's treatment of the same: with verbal similarities, the formal differences born of two thousand intervening years appear to be glossed over. The same confusion of objects and methods in the following essay leads the author to reproach science for its failure to distinguish substance from accident.

Several highly competent articles, introduced by an essay on the tenets of Realism by the editor of the collection, exemplify the second degree of progress: new problems met by enriching the old answers with new data. In the realm of metaphysical psychology, Father Ignatius Brady, O.F.M., analyzes Saint Bonaventure's doctrine on the soul, emphasizing its intrinsic natural ordination to the body in spite of the body's mortality. Anton C. Pegis follows with a fine historico-philosophical presentation of the genesis of Saint Thomas' notion of soul and, in the light of his proximity to the Aristotelian Averroes, its surprising closeness to Augustine. In the domain of Ethics Father Gerald Phelan states a natural law credo in challenge to currently popular pragmatic jurisprudence. Ignatius Smith, O.P., concludes the book with an interesting anthology of Thomistic thoughts on the social nature of man, and the function of government and authority.

Finally, most stimulating and creative are the inquiries into the proper object of metaphysics by Father W. Norris Clarke, S.J., and Elizabeth Salmon. Father Clarke draws out the implication of the recent Existentialist thrust in Thomism with its emphasis on the actually existent. Since, unlike possible being, actually existent being alone can lead to the existence of God, it alone should be the primary object of metaphysics. Elizabeth Salmon's essay traces the false problems that arise from the substitution of a Cartesian clear and distinct idea of being, for an analogous notion of being that preserves being with all its mystery. Thus being itself won't be considered contradictory because one's inadequate concepts of it are contradictory. In the other articles in this section, Jacques Maritain refines his idea of the proper effect of subsistence on essence, and Father Francis X. Meehan presents with critical comments the present status of the Neo-Scholastic proof for the existence of God from contingency.

Clearly the good far outweighs the less good in this illuminating cross-section of contemporary American Scholasticism. The tribute of its publication in honor of Father Hart is expressed in James D. Collins' dedicatory encomium of Father Hart's years of devoted service as priest, philosopher, and apostle.

EDWARD V. STEVENS, S.J.

TRANSITION

An Introduction To Philosophy. *By Daniel J. Sullivan.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1957. Pp. 288. $3.75.

The express purpose of this introduction is to help the modern American college student to make the transition from his literary studies to the philosophical realm. The transitional aspect is emphasized throughout by the method of approach, the order of the book, and the stress placed on the moral and social implications of philosophy. Not until the last chapters is the reader introduced to metaphysical analyses and their applications in our knowledge of God.

The first seven chapters of the book treat of the ancient Greek

philosophers, culminating in Plato and Aristotle. The brevity of these chapters and their concluding summaries will greatly encourage the timid "beginner". Moreover the manner of describing the early Greeks is provocative rather than detailed, arousing the reader's interest by sketching in broad strokes the dilemmas confronted by the Greeks and the gradual elaboration of their answers.

The author then chooses to treat the concrete problems with which philosophy has dealt, concerning man himself, his reason, passions, personality and final end. In comparison with standard scholastic manuals, there is a greater proportion of space devoted to these questions, ethical and psychological for the most part. However, this is an introduction to philosophy, not a manual. It proposes to awaken in the student a real interest in philosophy by showing its pertinence to his everyday personal and social life, and to the life of the community and state in which he lives. And it is questionable whether such a departure from the more traditional manualistic method of presenting scholastic philosophy to college students, needs any apology.

This is a good introduction, brief, clear, disarmingly fluent. It reads so easily that the reader has to take care not to miss the full import of what is being said. Some perhaps might object to its consistent Spartan terseness, preferring to see less matter and greater amplification. However the advantages afforded by a more universal description of the field of philosophy, would seem to outweigh the danger of possible superficiality and ambiguity. And the excellent references provided throughout the book by the author, as well as an extremely up-to-date reading list of recommended and advanced readings which is appended, effectively supply the depth which is inherently lacking in any true *introduction.*

JOSEPH L. ROCHE, S.J.

IGNATIAN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Le Récit du Pèlerin, Autobiographie de saint Ignace de Loyola. *Third edition by André Thiry, S.J.* Louvain: Museum Lessianum. Bruges: Desclee de Brouwer, 1956. Pp. 152. 63 B. fr.

One more fruit of the Ignatian year: a new edition of the first French translation of the Autobiography of Saint Ignatius, first published thirty-five years ago by Father E. Thibaut. This translation, however, has been entirely revised by Father Thiry, and enriched by numerous annotations and references which faithfully reflect the progress of Ignatian studies in the past three decades. A remarkable sketch of St. Ignatius' spiritual itinerary opens the book, which is attractively presented and contains four original maps. An appendix in which the similarities between the Spiritual Exercises and the Autobiography are carefully listed and classified, will prove of special interest to all students of the Exercises and to retreat directors. In short, a precious little volume which deserves a place in any Ignatian library.

P. LEBEAU, S.J.

CLEAR, FAIR ANALYSIS

Religion and the Psychology of Jung. *By Raymond Hostie, S.J.* Translated by G. R. Lamb. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1957. Pp. 249. $3.50.

The author's intention is to examine the empirical character of the method proper to analytical psychology in order to appreciate the fundamental insights of the science at its true value. In the light of the conclusions reached, he endeavors to determine what Jung means by "religion" or "religious attitude" and then investigates what function is ascribed to religions, in the sense of "confessions". Finally, the implications of analytical psychology, which extend into the fields of dogmatic and pastoral theology, are evaluated.

In order to accomplish his task Hostie uses all of Jung's works and his personal interviews with the psychologist himself. The result is a clear and orderly presentation of Jung's work with a corresponding evaluation of his system and its implications. Father Hostie, admitting Jung's sincere desire not to trespass in the sphere of philosophy and theology, asserts that the reason behind Jung's contradictory attitudes is his admixture of theory on the one hand, and on the other, practice which ignores the well-defined limits of the psychic.

In his chapter on spiritual direction, the author tries to reduce the antagonism between psychotherapy and spiritual direction. Actual sin, he says, does not lead to neurosis; and confession, as the sacramental forgiveness of sins, is incapable of curing neurosis even in its mildest form. Analysis has no use for formal sins; it only becomes interested in sins when ignorance or repression of them causes some sort of psychic dissociation. Father refuses to accept any identification of psychic analysis with confession, but he believes that there can be some collaboration between priest and therapist, if these two ways of treating the soul can be clearly defined.

People who judge Jung by his theoretical attitude will agree with him. People who concentrate on his practical application will criticize him. Father Hostie counsels taking a broad view of Jung's work, acknowledging how much he has given as well as his deficiencies. Though this is the author's first book, it is notable for its clarity of analysis and fairness of criticism. This reviewer recommends it unconditionally to all students of psychology and spiritual directors.

FRANCIS SCHEMEL, S.J.

NEW PHILOSOPHY 'TOOL'

Summary of Scholastic Principles. *By Bernard Wuellner, S.J.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956. Pp. 164. $2.00.

In a companion volume to his *Dictionary of Scholastic Philosophy* (Bruce, 1956; see THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS, vol. 85, no. 4, pp. 474-475) Father Wuellner has incorporated all the major principles of scholastic philosophy under forty-five general categories, such as "act

and potency", "habits", "truth", "will", etc. The principles are numbered consecutively, totaling 569, due to the frequent repetition of many principles according to their different applications under various headings. Cross references are constantly supplied. Pertinent detailed references to modern periodicals, general philosophical works and the better, modern textbooks, as well as to the important *loci* in Thomas and Aristotle, are also provided at the conclusion of each of the categories. The relevance of these principles to certain particular fields is briefly sketched by means of twenty exercises which are dispersed throughout the book.

The chief usefulness of this new "tool" for the budding philosopher, and for his professor as well, is that it provides a conspectus of the scholastic approach to all the major fields of philosophy, as this approach is epitomized in scholastic principles. By means of cross references, the constant repetition of basic norms is brought graphically to light. There may be some who might take exception to a book of this type for a college student. It may seem too neat a summary for the all-too-facile memory of the students,—a manual providing all the "answers" before giving the problems, or perhaps more accurately, affording a complete list of "majors" to which the student need but add his "minor" to come out with the conclusion. However, it is doubtful whether a summary of this type is open to such an abuse. Even its immediate profit for the student would be negligible. On the contrary, a judicious use of this book by a competent teacher can avoid the pitfalls of such short-cuts and over-simplifications. It can furthermore help to develop that sense of the unity and inter-relationship between the various branches of scholasticism, which is so often missed by the undergraduate, and lost forever by the post-graduate.

JOSEPH L. ROCHE, S.J.

CLEAR AND HELPFUL

Glossary of Sociological Terms. *Compiled and edited by: Clement S. Mihanovich, Ph.D., Robert J. McNamara, S.J. and William N. Tome, S.J.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1957. Pp. iv-36. 85¢.

"This is an attempt, assuredly not a definitive attempt, to remedy a vital need in sociology, at least in part. All sociologists will not necessarily subscribe to all these definitions. However, the sociological concepts as here presented are, at least, generally acceptable to sociologists." Thus Dr. Mihanovich in the preface to this short but extremely useful work. These definitions are the result of five years' work in both the graduate and undergraduate sociology courses of Dr. Mihanovich of St. Louis University. Fathers McNamara and Tome organized and synthesized the definitions, and the completed manuscript was submitted to experts in the various fields. Dr. Mihanovich checked all and revised some of the definitions after the manuscript was completed. The sociology and social science student will find this pamphlet very helpful

for a clear and critical understanding of the many books he must necessarily read.

R. Eugene Moran, S.J.

PLEASANT READING

The Lively Arts of Sister Gervaise. *By John L. Bonn, S.J.* New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1957. Pp. 227. $3.50.

As is evident from the title of the book, the story relates the trials of Sister Gervaise as play directress of St. Rita's Parish High School. But her woes are not only confined to the stage and her charges. She also finds herself involved in verbal clashes with the Reverend Pastor over sugary hymns. She is later caught in a family squabble. All these and many more amusing and heart-warming incidents add up to a very enjoyable novel. The author has a good style and the story moves along smoothly with periodic touches of pathos. But the most winning quality of the novel is Sister Gervaise herself. In spite of her wimple, her ankle-length skirt and her defects, we get the picture of an ordinary woman trying in her own little way to do the Will of God. A novel of this kind is most welcome indeed. The incidents seem so real that it could happen to any Sister in any parish school, and that Sister could be a Sister Gervaise. If you want a couple of hours of pleasant reading, then let Sister Gervaise and her lively arts entertain you.

Oscar A. Millar, S.J.

ECLECTIC SYNTHESIS

General Metaphysics. *By John P. Noonan, S.J.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956. Pp. ix-273. $2.90.

Those of Ours who have used Father McCormick's *Scholastic Metaphysics* will welcome the appearance of this new text in general metaphysics. For the plan of development and philosophical point of view are much the same. Father Noonan's aim is "to clarify and simplify as far as possible the basic ideas of philosophy." The fundamental idea of Being is derived by subjective precision (ascending the Porphyrian tree) and the resultant concept is the narrowest in comprehension ("that which is not nothing") and the widest in extension. Such an abstracted concept of Being does, of course, face the apparent dilemma that Hegel posed: a concept of being which is the concept of no-thing is identical with the concept of nothing. The author is aware of Hegel's pretended identification and argues skillfully against it. Real being is of two kinds: the actual (physical) and the possible (metaphysical). It follows then that existence is a "state of being" and not an intrinsic constitutive note. Consequently too, the real distinction between what-a-thing-is and its act of being is denied as an unnecessary complication (Occam's razor is sedulously applied). The truth of the distinction is at best problematical and on it no other philosophical truth of any great importance rests. The Thomists, to be sure, are

given their innings in an extensive quotation from Cardinal Mercier in support of the real distinction. But "from the very definitions of the terms it seems clear that existence is a state of being and not a being in itself."

As is probably clear too, this approach to the philosophy of being is not Thomistic, save in the wide sense in which St. Thomas forms but part of the scholastic tradition from which the author has fashioned his synthesis, an admitted eclecticism for which he makes no apology and believes none is needed. And for one who accepts the fundamental premises—the point of departure and the methodology—there will be no difficulty in accepting the rigorously deduced conclusions.

The text is clearly written and the language is always apt and fresh. To that extent the author has achieved his secondary aim of expressing philosophical ideas in good idiomatic English rather than in the Latin-English jargon which mars many other texts. One would question, however, the value, or need, of Latin phrases as parenthetical expressions. A Glossary of Terms and an Appendix are added.

H. R. Burns, S.J.

HIDDEN HEROISM

Héros dans l'ombre, mais héros quand même. *By Alphonse Gauthier, S.J.* Sudbury, Ontario: La Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario, 1956. Pp. 43.

The glory that surrounds the memories of the North American Martyrs might lead us to underestimate the achievements of those who resumed their work after the restoration of the Society. This brochure does justice to three of those dedicated pioneers of the 19th century: the Jesuit Brothers Jean Véroneau, Joseph Jennesseaux and Georges Lehoux, two Frenchmen and a Canadian, who labored among the Indians in Canada. Their hidden heroism certainly justifies the enthusiasm of their biographer, and gives a moving testimony to the loftiness of the vocation of temporal coadjutor.

P. Lebeau, S.J.

BREATH OF SCRIPTURE

The Window in the Wall. *By Ronald A. Knox.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956. Pp. ix-130. $2.75.

What characterizes this collection of sermons on the Eucharist is Monsignor Knox's ability to adapt his subject to a topic uppermost in people's minds at the time, and to penetrate deeply into the spiritual needs of his hearers. The sermons take us through the periods of the early years of the Second World War, the advance of the allied armies toward Rome, the cessation of hostilities in Europe, the Nüremberg trials, and the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. For each sermon the Scripture text, whether from the Old or New Testament, is aptly chosen and well developed with the use of vivid pictures. "The Window

in the Wall" (the title of the first sermon), for example, paints a scene from the Canticle of Canticles. In the comparison Christ becomes the Beloved calling through the window, which is His glorified Body veiled in the Host. The window in the wall of our corrupt nature belongs both to this world and to eternity. With our modern Christian world becoming more Bible-conscious, and with our Holy Father urging the greater use of Sacred Scripture both in teaching and in private reading on the part of the faithful, Ours might profit by studying how Monsignor Knox makes the Bible live. The principal themes of these sermons are: personal union with Christ in Holy Communion, the oneness of all the faithful in Christ, and the ardent desire of Christ to give us the Bread of the strong, so that we may make His life ours.

THOMAS H. CONNOLLY, S.J.

SUPER-INTELLIGIBILITY

The Silence of St. Thomas. *By Josef Pieper.* New York: Pantheon, 1957. Pp. 122. $2.75.

Josef Pieper has written a series of three essays with a single theme. The theme can be stated as a double paradox: Creatures are knowable because at root they are ultimately unfathomable, and they are ultimately unfathomable because at root they are known. Or in Pieper's own words: "One and the same factor explains both why things cannot be entirely grasped and why they can be known." The inscrutability of things is almost the same as their knowability: their status as creatures thought-created by God.

It is St. Thomas' awareness of this surplus of intelligibility in things that accounts for his silence. He had pursued the ways of creaturely knowledge to the very end, to the boundary where *omnia exeunt in mysterium.* It is not death that took pen from his hand: the *Summa Theologiae* is unfinished, but of set purpose. Compared to what he had seen and what had been revealed to him, his work seemed as straw.

This same awareness of the mystery of God-Fathered thoughts in things is what Pieper calls the negative element in the philosophy of St. Thomas. Its presence explains why St. Thomas at times speaks in a fashion that scandalizes many of the textbook compilers, who omit such references as: "Principia essentialia rerum sunt nobis ignota." Or again: "Hoc est ultimum cognitionis humanae de Deo; quod sciat se Deum nescire." The reason is never lack of intelligibility in things, and certainly not in God. But rather as the eye of the bat is dazzled by the noon-day, so is human intelligence when faced with what is intelligible in itself; and even when that intelligibility is concretized in created things, there remain depths of meaning which escape us.

This negative element likewise excludes a closed system, and therein lies the timeliness of Thomism. St. Thomas, says Pieper, has a corrective word for the modern thinker, particularly the existentialist of

current vogue who so fears the rigidity and smug sureness of systematized verbal formulas. The modern thinker feels only the anxiety of continuing "to be" in the face of the inscrutable and unintelligible. The corrective of Thomism is to show that the "unintelligibility" is really super-intelligibility, and that anxiety should give way to hope in the presence of mystery. St. Thomas does not dispel mystery but gives the mystery why at length it must be mystery; and why mystery does not mean "nothing to be known" but "more to be known than we know or can ever have hoped to know."

Josef Pieper would add but one final note: this stress on the negative does not deny that positive answers are possible. They are. But they are likewise inadequate, and must be if we understand created reality as it is. Hence that inadequacy requires as much balanced emphasis as the positive achievement. In sum, his book is filled with much insight and wisdom.

H. R. Burns, S.J.

COMPLETE, SCHOLARLY EDITION

John Henry Newman, Autobiographical Writings. *Edited with introductions by Henry Tristram of the Oratory.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1957. Pp. xi-338. $4.50.

This volume contains all the autobiographical material which Cardinal Newman left behind him in his room when he died. It comprises the following documents: an Autobiography in miniature; the two autobiographical sketches, together with a continuation covering the later years of his life, contributed by the Editor; the autobiographical memoir; "My Illness in Sicily"; three early Journals; the Journal, 1859-1879; "Memorandum About My Connection with the Catholic University".

Here is a very convenient tool for the serious student of Newman and yet one which the ordinary reader will page through with real interest, as he sees a great personality reveal the intimate workings of his mind and heart. The chief value of this edition lies in the fact that these documents are here published for the first time in their original form. Strictly speaking, they cannot be assigned to the category of unpublished matter. Anne Mozley had access to all the relevant papers for her *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman* and Wilfred Ward based his biography on the private journals and correspondence. As a biographer Ward inevitably had to select but Anne Mozley as an editor appears to have suppressed more than was necessary even in the light of Victorian convention. Newman certainly had no objections to their publication in whole or in part and simply left it up to the discretion of the parties who after his death would come into possession of his papers.

Fortunately, Father Tristram saw the need for a complete, scholarly edition and finished the major part of this work before he died. His careful introductions help the reader to appreciate the complicated life

of Newman "without varnishing, assigning motives or interpreting Lord Burleigh's nods". He has done a genuine service to his brother Oratorian in trying to stimulate a deeper interest in one of the major intellectual forces in the Catholic Church of the nineteenth century.

JOHN J. GOLDEN, S.J.

BLEND OF FACT AND FICTION

The King's Achievement. *By Robert Hugh Benson.* Edited by Francis X. Connolly. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1957. Pp. xiv-368. $3.50.

Come Rack! Come Rope! *By Robert Hugh Benson.* Edited by Philip Caraman, S.J. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1957. Pp. vi-377. $3.50.

One need read no further than the opening paragraph of *The King's Achievement* to see why Msgr. Benson enjoyed such a reputation at the beginning of the century. To a remarkable degree he achieves the perfect blending of fact and fiction that makes the successful historical narrative. Dr. Connolly speaks highly of Msgr. Benson's "acute sense of historical complexity," yet it is in Benson's vivid characterization and boldly romantic style that the story finds its greatness. Thomas More, Henry VIII, Cromwell and Cranmer move in the background, but it is in the conflict of a house divided against itself that the story really lives.

The second of the two novels looks at Elizabethan England from a slightly different viewpoint. In the opening passage Msgr. Benson writes: "There should be no sight more happy than a young man riding to meet his love." From that moment until the last page of the book when that same young man dies on the gibbet for his priesthood and his faith, the book is admittedly romantic. Indeed, that gallant romanticism is obvious in Campion's defiant cry "Come Rack! Come Rope!" which Benson has taken for his title. *Come Rack! Come Rope!* does not have the historic sweep of *The King's Achievement*, but in its narrower compass it gives, perhaps, a sharper picture of the period of persecution—sharper because it is more personal. By judicious editing, Father Caraman has given us a worthy companion piece to his *Autobiography of a Hunted Priest.*

The editors of these two novels have done an excellent job. Some readers may look in vain for favorite passages of the originals that have been omitted, but there is no doubt that the plots have been sharpened and quickened in the process of editing. These two novels with their story of persecution in 16th Century England have a certain pertinence in our own age. Kenedy and Sons are to be thanked for these new editions which will give the younger generation the opportunity of becoming acquainted with Msgr. Benson's works. We earnestly hope that they will add a third volume to the present pair by re-issuing that other strangely prophetic novel of Msgr. Benson, *Lord of the World.*

JOSEPH A. GALDON, S.J.

CONTROVERSIAL

The Meaning of Christian Perfection. *By Jordan Aumann, O.P., & David Greenstock.* St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1957. Pp. 162. $3.25.

This book is an exchange of correspondence occasioned by a critical review by Father Aumann of Father Greenstock's book, *Be Ye Perfect,* published in 1952. The controversy is about how Christian perfection is to be conceived. Does it consist mainly in the possession of sanctifying grace, while the development of grace remains accidental and in a sense exceptional? Or is perfection to be conceived as the full and natural flowering of the life of grace, while the mere possession of sanctifying grace is perfection only inchoatively and in seed? Father Aumann maintains the second fuller interpretation that not only the life of active asceticism but also the passive purgations of the faculties caused by and leading to infused prayer all make up a natural and organically united growth of grace in the soul. Father Greenstock's more limited emphasis is based on the fact that few souls ever actually attain the heights of Christian perfection or any form of mystical prayer. Father Aumann contends that the full flowering of grace is natural albeit rare; Father Greenstock, that it is exceptional and accidental.

The protagonists agreed to develop their controverted points according to the doctrine of St. Thomas. This decision unhappily tends to cloud the issue in a welter of technical scholastic terminology. Moreover, the preoccupation with adapting the Angelic Doctor to their own interpretations overshadows a presentation of the issue on its own merits. This, together with the supposition of the reader's familiarity with Father Greenstock's original book, considerably limits this book's general appeal.

One cannot follow a debate without asking oneself who won. Father Aumann strove manfully to keep terminological quibblings to a minimum. The question, of course, is not a new one. However, as the book progresses, Father Aumann's arguments, presented with a sense of realization, gradually break through the more speculative and system-centered arguments of his confrere. The question still remains open. But as discussed in this book, though at the end difficulties remained which had not been ironed out, as this reviewer saw it, they remained in the position of Father Greenstock, not of Father Aumann.

EDWARD V. STEVENS, S.J.

OF DOUBTFUL VALIDITY

Hamlet's Mouse Trap. *By Arthur Wormhoudt.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. Pp. 221. $3.50.

I question this psychoanalytical study of the drama on two points —the general principles upon which the author bases his conclusions and the practical applications he makes of these principles to the

Shakespearean play. First, with regard to the general principles, Mr. Wormhoudt maintains that human beings have the ability to produce the variety of sounds which form the basis of speech and writing because this is a way of denying an unconscious reproach of conscience that we wish to be denied food. He explains other parts of his theory as due to conflicts between conscience and self-destructive tendencies, the evolutionary shift from four-footed to two-footed locomotion, and the evolutionary *fact* (italics mine) that human beings have not yet fully adjusted to the shock of upright posture. And I fail utterly to see the relationship he postulates between the toilet training of the child and his sound producing ability.

The author does not pretend to give the clinical evidence of psychologists, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts, but he does give what he calls the other type of evidence for these theories, found in the language of great poets and artists. Yet this literary evidence seems to consist largely of unwarranted conclusions from the obviously and intentionally unscientific language of literary authors. For example, he finds linguistic evidence for conscience and inhibition in the fact that the most commonly used words in drama are short, have multiple meanings and many synonyms. I do not see what this proves other than the fact already supposed—they are words that are used most commonly. Likewise, Mr. Wormhoudt asserts that Shakespeare's division of the plays into five acts is due to the five layer structure of sublimation; Act I of Hamlet contains scenes near a body of water which symbolizes the pre-natal state of the infant; the suicidal tone of the "To be or not to be" soliloquy is due to the fact that Hamlet is the visual projection of self-destructive tendencies. I find it hard to believe that Shakespeare, great genius that he was, either consciously or unconsciously, put all this so-called psychonalytical theory into the play.

I cannot see how the author has proved anything by the use of highly doubtful principles and dubious applications to a piece of literature. What intends to be a psychoanalytical study of the drama ends up, it would seem, by being questionable psychoanalysis and poor drama. If these defects can be overlooked, the author's obvious diligence in working out the intricacies of his theory is to be commended.

JOSEPH A. GALDON, S.J.